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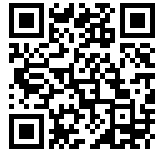

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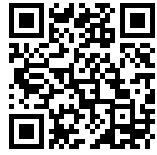

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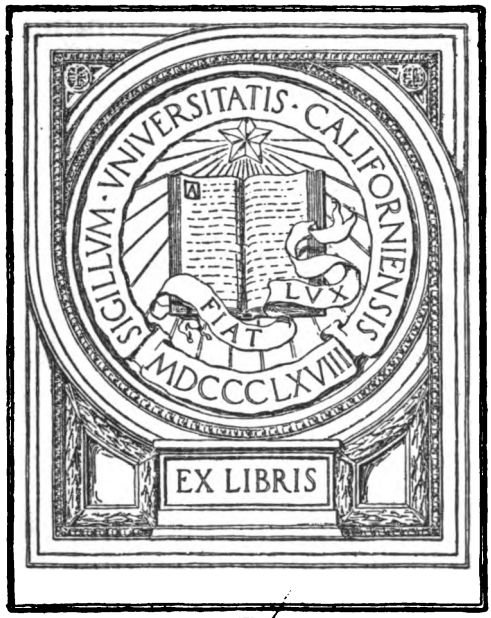

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THE EARLY LONDON DIALECT

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THE EARLY LONDON DIALECT

Contributions to the History of the Dialect of London during the Middle English Period

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

BY

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PREFACE

THE following investigation on the early history of the London dialect is based on materials collected at first hand from the sources. Where facts have been taken from the investigations of others, full acknowledgements have, I hope, been made.

It has not been possible to discuss more than a few of the important phonological points in the history of the M.E. dialects under consideration. No attempt has been made to deal with the grammar or the inflexions; yet the evidence on the phonological points is so unambiguous and convincing, that there seems no reason to doubt that important conclusions may safely be drawn from these alone.

I have to thank Dr. Chambers, of London, for his kindness and courtesy in allowing me to see the proofs of his book on *London English*, and also Dr. Mary Serjeantson for kindly giving me some useful Herts. Pl.-N. material collected from the records in the possession of Merton College, Oxford.

Finally, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Professor H. C. Wyld, at whose suggestion and advice the present investigation was undertaken. He has assisted me generously throughout the various stages of

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the work, and it is no exaggeration to say that without his help these results could never have been obtained. I only wish the whole were a better, more adequate return for the debt I owe him.

B. A. M.

SOMERVILLE COLLEGE,
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June, 1927.

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I. INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Scope of the Inquiry.

THE present investigation is an attempt to survey the main phonological features of the London dialect throughout the Middle English period. In Chapter II the dialect conditions of this area during the early period (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) are examined. In Chapter III the later features of the London dialect, as revealed in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sources, are discussed and compared with earlier conditions. Finally, in this and the succeeding chapters, an effort is made to account for the changes which have taken place between the earlier and the later London dialects.

The results, briefly stated, show that in the E.M.E. period the dialect of the City of London (henceforth referred to as the City dialect) was quite different from the dialect of the county of Middlesex (Middlex. dialect) of the same date. The later London dialect is, on the whole, a blend of these two dialects, but it has certain new features which cannot have developed either from the City or from the Middlex. dialects, but which must have come in from some other dialect area.

A final chapter has been added in which the main phonological features of the dialects of some S.E. and S.E. Midland counties in M.E. are briefly discussed.

§ 2. Previous Investigation.

Morsbach (*Neuenglische Schriftsprache*) early expressed the view that the London dialect was originally southern in character, but that later many of the southern peculiarities were displaced by Midland elements. Dölle's investigations (*zur Sprache Londons vor Chaucer*) led him to confirm this view, and furthermore to emphasize that the early London dialect showed clear evidence of Kentish influence. With these views both Luick (*Historische Grammatik*, § 36) and

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Flasdieck (*Forschungen zur frühzeit der neueng. Schriftspr.*, p. 10) concurred.

For long the absence of adequate records of early London dialect prevented investigators from gaining more exact know ledge of the dialectal conditions during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Recently, however, further sources of evidence have been discovered, and it now seems certain that the Kentish dialect did not in any way influence the early London dialect. From the evidence of Pl.-Ns., Heuser (*Alt-London*) established that the early 'dialect of London' was identical with the Essex dialect, a view which Jordan (*Mitteleng. Grammatik*, p. 10) accepted. Wyld (*S.E. and S.E. Midland Dialects*) came independently to a similar conclusion—that 'in early London speech . . . the "Kentish" features could be attributed with equal propriety to Ess.' (*Ess. and Stud.* vi, p. 114).

§ 3. Sources.

The chief records of the early London dialects (i. e. of the dialects of the City and of Middlex.) are texts and Pl.-Ns. An examination of these early sources shows that they fall into a connected series of three groups. These are (A) sources for the dialect of the old City of London; (B) sources for the dialect of Westminster; and (C) sources for the dialect of Middlex.

(A) The City Dialect. The main source of information is the early forms of the names of streets, churches, &c., in the City, found in local records (Lett. Bks., Mayors' Rlls., &c.), and in more general collections (Cat. Ant. Dds., &c.).

For the discussion of the resemblance between the early City dialect and that of Essex, the main sources for **Essex** are:

1. *Vices and Virtues* [V. & V.], *c.* 1200. Assigned to Essex by Wyld (*S.E. and S.E. Midl. Dialects*, p. 133). Heuser (*Alt-London*, p. 60) includes it among his Essex-London texts,

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and so does Jordan (*Mitteleng. Grammatik*, p. 10). The evidence from early forms of Essex Pl.-Ns. confirms this localization.

2. Place-Names in local documents (Ess. F. F., Colch. Ch.) and in general collections.

(B) The Westminster Dialect. This dialect is represented by two groups of texts which are connected with the Abbey of Westminster:

1. Twelve *Charters* of the early twelfth century [Westm Charters].

2. *The Westminster Chartulary*, MS. Cotton Faustina A III, late thirteenth century [Cott. Westm. Ch.].

(C) The Middlex. Dialect. The principal sources for this dialect are:

1. *Historical Charters*, 1066–1160, examined by Dölle (*zur Sprache Londons vor Chaucer*).

2. *Trinity Homilies*, *c.* 1200, assigned by Wyld (*S.E. and S.E. Midl. Dialects*, p. 138) to East Middlex. There seems no justification for assigning these to Hunts. (*v.* Jordan, *Mitteleng. Grammatik*, p. 10).

3. *Lambeth Homilies*, *c.* 1200, assigned by Wyld (*loc. cit.*, p. 138) to West Middlex., near Brentford. Jordan (*op. cit.*, p. 8) assigns these to Staffs. A comparison between the dialect features of the two groups of Homs. and those of the Middlex. Pl.-Ns. confirms Wyld's localization of these texts. Reaney (*Engl. Studien*, 61, p. 20) accepts these as Middlex. documents.

4. *The English Proclamation of Henry III*, 1258.

5. *Five Dreams of Adam Davy*, *c.* 1307. The author lived at Stratford-at-Bow (l. 163).

6. *Place-Names* of the county of Middlex., occurring in local documents (e. g. Middlex. F. F., &c.) and in general collections of the M.E. period.

§ 4. Phonological Features Investigated.

The early sources enumerated in § 3 have been examined on twelve important phonological points of dialect.

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1. The O.E. *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal. Does it appear as *a* + nasal or as *e* + nasal?

2. O.E. *æ*. Does it become *a* or *e*?

3. O.E. *ear*. Does it become *ar* or *er*?

4. O.E. *æl* + cons. (unlengthened). Does it appear as *al* or as *el*?

5. O.E. *æl* + *d*. Is the M.E. type derived from the O.E. fractured or unfractured form?

6. O.E. $\bar{æ}^1$. Is this retracted to $\bar{a}$, or does it become either slack [ɛ̄] or tense [ē], as in most M.E. dialects?

7. O.E. $\bar{æ}^2$. Does this become $\bar{a}$, [ɛ̄] or [ē]?

8. O.E. $\breve{y}$. Is the rounded [$\breve{y}$] retained, written *u*, *ui*, or is either the unrounded $\breve{i}$, or the lowered and unrounded $\breve{e}$ the characteristic type?

9. O.E. $\breve{e}\breve{o}$. Does this develop into $\breve{e}$, or is there any trace of rounding?

10. The O.E. *i*-mutation of $\breve{e}\breve{a}$. Does this become $\breve{e}$, or is there any trace of the W.S. mutation to $\breve{i}\breve{e}$?

11. The O.E. *i*-mutation of $\breve{i}\breve{o}$. Does this appear as *e*, or is there any trace of a development from the W.S. $\breve{i}\breve{e}$-type?

12. O.E. *ēag*, *ēah*. Is there any trace of the raised $\bar{i}$-, $\bar{y}$-type besides the more usual *ey*, *eh*, &c.?

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II. THE EARLY LONDON DIALECT

§ 5. The early Dialects of the City, Westminster, and Middlesex

Under the term Early London are included the dialects of the City and of the county of Middlex., including Westm., during the E.M.E. period (twelfth and thirteenth centuries). In the following discussion, the principal aim is to emphasize, by a detailed examination of the evidence on the phonological points enumerated in § 4, the close similarity between the early City and Essex dialects, and, further, to compare and contrast the features of this City-Essex dialect point by point with those of the more westerly Middlex. type. At the same time the intermediate character of the Westm. dialect is shown.

The material does not, of course, indicate that there was in E.M.E. an absolutely clear-cut division between the two types of dialect. Characteristic City forms, e. g. $\bar{a}$ for $\bar{æ}^1$, are occasionally found in Middlex., and vice versa. This is only what might be expected when the smallness of the City area is remembered and also the close connexion of London with Middlex. But these exceptional forms are rare, and a satisfactory explanation can, as a rule, be given to account for their occurrence. On the whole, the two dialects are remarkably distinct in character.

It is unfortunate that on some important points of phonology the amount of evidence, after all questionable forms have been eliminated (e. g. Pl.-Ns. of other areas occurring in a local document), is very scanty. At times evidence of various kinds has to be used in discussing the history of a particular phonological feature—for instance, in the section dealing with unfractured forms in the early records of Middlex. and Bucks. Occasionally it is impossible, at present, to do more than to indicate the probable state of affairs at a particular date.

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1. O.E. *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal

§ 6. The O.E. *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal appears in M.E. as *en, em* (*fen, kempe*), and as *an, am* (*fan, kampe*). The *e*-type is more common, but *a* is characteristic of certain dialects of the S.E. Midlands. By the fifteenth century, however, forms with *a* have almost entirely disappeared.

(A) The City Dialect.

§ 7. The original type in the City dialect is *an, am*. Heuser (*Alt-London*) has collected a large number of early forms of City Pl.-Ns. in *an, am: Fancherche, Thamisestrate, Wandayeneslane, Wandegoslane*, &c. His conclusion is that *an, am* is the characteristic type of the 'Altlondoner Dialekt', by which he means the dialect of both the City and Middlex. Failing to distinguish between the City and the County dialects, he does not realize that this is true only of the former.

§ 8. In addition to Heuser's material, I have noted the following early forms with the *a*-type:

Fancherch, 13th c. St. Barthol. Recs. 470; 1291 Tax. Eccles. 10; *Thamis*, 13th c. Rotl. Hund. 19, &c.; *Thamysestrate*, 1271 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii. 169; *Tamys Strete*, 1298 Mayors' Rlls. 10.

§ 9. Very few *e*-forms occur in City Pl.-Ns. before the fourteenth century:

Themestrete, 1284, 1296 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii.

§ 10. The characteristic type in early Essex, as in the City, is *a*. (See also Heuser, pp. 34–6.)

V. & V. have *a* as a rule:

angel, 5; *angele*, 105; *angle*, 53; *angles*, 15, 43; *angelich*, 129; *ande*, 19; *andedaige*, 5; *andin*, 149; *andieð*, 139; *andeden*, 149; *bland*, 127; *framde*, 13; *namned*, 35; *ȝenamned*, 91; *inammed*, 25; *ȝenamd*, 27; *inamde*, 149; *namden*, 149; *paneȝes*, 79; *sand*, 145; *utsanden*, 145; *sant*, 17; *sante*, 55; *ȝesant*, 143; *wanden*, 29; *want*, 13; *wand*, 127; *want*, 33; *wandeð*, 57; *wande*, 101; *wante*, 147; *wanten*, 23; *iwant*, 19, 27.

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A certain number of æ-spellings occur in this text:

ænde, 5; *ængel*, 55; *længe*, 39; *imængd*, 63; *næmnede*, 91; *sænte*, 25; *ȝesænt*, 83, 85; *strænges*, 45; *ȝeswæint*, 85; *wænden*, 27; *wænd*, 59; *bewænt*, 101; *wænde*, 81; *wændinde*, 71; *wænte*, 23; *wændinges*, 23.

But *e*-forms, too, occur sporadically. They must be due to the influence of the Suff. dialect, which has the *e*-type only (§ 332; cf. § 12):

engelisc, 63; *drench*, 89; *lengðe*, 45; *lengere*, 89; *senden*, 85; *send*, 115; *sent*, 75, 77, 85, 98; *strengðe*, 25; *ðenchen*, 17; *ðenchen*, 21; *ðenkst*, 69½; *ðencð*, 135; *ðencheð*, 137; *wente*, 23.

§ 11. Essex Pl.-Ns. have *an*, *am* as a rule (see also Heuser, pp. 34–6):

Bolegefanne, 1269 Ess. F. F. i; *Danesee*, &c., 13th c. Cal. Inq. P. M. i; 1247, 1261 Ess. F. F. i; 1285 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; 1288 Ess. F. F. ii; 1297 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii; *Dannebyri*, 1285, 1293 Ess. F. F. ii; *Danyngebyr*, &c., 1247 ib. i; 1284, 1291 ib. ii; *Fanbregg*, *Fambrig*, &c., 1197 ib. i; 13th c. Cal. Inq. P. M. i; 1223, 1234, 1239, 1258 Ess. F. F. i; 1277 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; 1296, 1297 ib. iii; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Fantone*, *Fantona*, 1103–16 Abb. Crispin's Westm. Ch. p. 144; *c.* 1120 ib. p. 41; *Heyefan*, 1275 Ess. F. F. ii; *Laneshand*, 1261 ib. i; *Milande*, *Milaunde*, 1291, 1292 ib. ii; *Wansted(e)*, 1208 B. M. Ch. and Rlls. i; t. Hen. III Cal. Inq. P. M. i; 1257 Ess. F. F. i; 1280 ib. ii; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.

§ 12. Forms with *e* in early Pl.-Ns. are rarer. Few occur before the second half of the 13th c. As a rule they are restricted to the northern areas adjacent to the *e* county of Suff. (§ 332), or to the extreme south, where influence from the neighbouring *e* counties of Middlex. (§ 15) and Kent (§ 332) may be suspected:

Alrefen (Braxted), 1231 Cl. Rlls. i; *Denegeberi*, 1267 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Deneseie*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Estfen* (Orsett), 1240 Ess. F. F. i; 1240 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Fenbrugg*, 1228 Ess. F. F. i; *Fenhus* (Frinton), 1288 ib. ii; *Fenton* (Benfleet), 1234 Ess. F. F. i; *Gladefen* (Halstead), 1247, 1261 ib. i; *Kingesfen*

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(Notley), 1234 ib. i; *Laneshend(e)* (Colchester), 1261 ib. i; *Middlefen* (Orsett), 1242–59 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Milende, Mile ende*, 1255 Ess. F. F. i; 1287 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; *Wenstede*, 1260 ib. i; *Westfen* (Colchester), 1240 Ess. F. F. i; *Wulgefen* (Tilbury), late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.

(B) The Westm. Dialect.

§ 13. An early charter of Edgar (958–75) to the Abbey of Westminster has the form *fenn* (Abb. Crispin's Westm. Ch., p. 170).

The early 12th c. Westm. Charters have one æ form (*miskænninge*, 3), but otherwise *e* only:

men, 20a; 20b; 26; *menn*, 22 (twice).

§ 14. The late 13th c. Cott. Westm. Ch. has *e*:

awende, iv/209; *awendeð*, iv/216.

A slight trace of the City-Essex type occurs in:

awanded, iv/216.

(C) The Middlex. Dialect.

§ 15. The dialect of Middlex. appears to have had *e* for O.E. *an-i* from the earliest M.E. period, and even before this; and *e* remains the typical form throughout the M.E. period.

§ 16. The 10th c. charters in Birch have only *e*-forms:

temese, fenn, fenne, fennes, 959 Birch No. 1048; *wend, wende*, 960–2 ib. No. 1063.

§ 17. According to Dölle (pp. 19, 20) the 12th c. charters have *e* (*frencisc, englisce, men, temese*) and æ (*frænciscе, ænglisc, mænne*).

§ 18. The easterly Trin. Homs. have *e*:

drenchen, 175; *ende*, 7, 13, 21...; *enden*, 85; *endede*, 85 (2); *ending*, 135; *engel*, 11, 21 (2), 31...; *englen(e)*, 5, 33 (2), 109...; *engles*, 27, 35, 113...; *englis*, 3, 21, 23...; *freme*, 195; *fremed*, 29; *fremful*, 149; *leng*, 85, 87; *lengere*, 139; *men*, 3 (2), 5 (2), 7...; *menisshe*, 123, 133; *mennish*, 81; *mennisse*, 123 (2), 163; *nemde*, 45, 55; *nemnede*, 11, 15; *sende*, 35 (2), 39, 51 (2)...;

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strengere, 185; *strengde*, 15, 35, 179 (2)...; *temien*, 63; *awemned*, 21; *wenden*, 89, 161 (3)...

A few *a*-forms occur:

manisse, 123, 165, 187; *mannish*, 81, 83; *mannisshe*, 83, 85, 109, 187 (2).

These may be due to the unmutated *mann*. But as the Trin. Homs. have been assigned to the extreme east of Middlex. (§ 3 (C) 2), they may be due to influence from the Essex dialect. Cf. the Pl.-N. *Dane land* in Edmonton, E. Middlex. (§ 22).

§ 19. The Lamb. Homs. have *e* only for O.E. *an-i*:

ende, 11; *engel*, 27; *uenne*, 'fen', 47; *fremian*, 111; *men*, 3, 11; *inemned*, 89; *peneȝes*, 89; *sende*, 3; *strengere*, 33; *wende*, 79.

§ 20. The Procl. Hen. III (1258) has *e* as a rule:

men, 5, 9, 13, 15, 24; *send*, 3; *freme*, 8; *senden*, 20; *isend*, 32.

A spelling with æ occurs:

ænde, 10;

this probably = [*a*], and the form is due to the influence of the City-Essex type.

§ 21. Davy has the *e*-type only:

bendes, 31; *Engelonde*, 6; *lenger*, 100; *nempned*, 45; *wende*, 160.

§ 22. Middlex. Pl.-Ns. have the *e*-type:

le Fen, 1268 F. F.; *Fentake*, 1277 Birch ii; *Langefen*, 1200 F. F.; *Milehende* (Stepney), 1298 Mayors' Rlls. 25.

The *a*-type occurs in:

Dane land, 1249 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii.

This place lay near Edmonton, on the borders of Essex.

§ 23. **Summary.**

(1) (*a*) The early City dialect has *a* for O.E. *an-i* (§ 7). Spellings with *e* do not occur in City Pl.-Ns. till the end of the 13th c., and even then they are exceedingly rare (§ 9).

(*b*) The early City dialect resembles the Essex dialect, which also has *a* for O.E. *an-i* (§§ 10, 11), though there are

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early traces of *e*-spellings in the Pl.-Ns. of areas adjacent to Suff. in the north and Middlex. and Kent in the south (§ 12).

(2) The early Middlex. dialect differs from the contemporary City-Essex dialect in having the *e*-type for O.E. *an-i* in E.M.E. This is shown by:

(*a*) the records of the Westm. dialect, which have *e* for O.E. *an-i* from the L.O.E. period (§§ 13, 14), though a slight trace of the City-Essex *a*-type occurs in the late 13th c. (§ 14);

(*b*) the Middlex. texts and Pl.-Ns., which have *e* as the prevailing form (§§ 16–22). Slight traces of *a* occur only in the easterly texts (e.g. Trin. Homs., § 18) and Pl.-Ns. (§ 22), due to the influence of the City-Essex dialect.

2. O.E. æ (> W. Germ. *a*)

§ **24.** O.E. æ has three distinct areas of development:

(A) O.E. æ was raised to *e* in the O.E. period, notably in the dialect of Kent;

(B) O.E. æ was retained till L.O.E. or E.M.E. and then raised to *e*;

(C) O.E. æ was retained till L.O.E. or E.M.E. and then retracted to *a*.

(A) The City Dialect.

§ **25.** The evidence from City Pl.-N. forms, though the material is rather scanty, indicates that the City dialect belonged to area (C), i. e. O.E. æ is retracted to *a*:

atte Cherche, 1281 Lett. Bks. B.; *atten Hulle*, 1277 ib. B; *atte Walle*, 1287 Cal. Lond. Wills; *atte Wodewarwe*, 1276 Lett. Bks. B; *Aphelingestrate* (> '*æðel*'), 1213 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; 1231 ib. ii; *Athelingstrate*, 1289 ib. ii; *Baremanelane*, 1285 Cal. Lond. Wills; *Blankesapelton*, 1197 Dugdale vi/624; *Grascherch*, *Garscherch*, &c., 1283, 1284, 1287 Lett. Bks. A.; 1298 Mayors' Rlls.; 1299 Lett. Bks. C.; *Waremanshaker*, 1197 Dugdale vi/624; *Wennakerton*, 1252 Dugdale vi/295; *La Watergate*, 1274 Cal. Lond. Wills.

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§ **26.** An *e*-form occurs in *Greschurch*, Hist. MSS. Comm. p. 9, but it is exceptional, and too late (1275) for much importance to be attached to it.

§ **27.** The Essex dialect has regularly *a* for O.E æ. It is the only form in V. & V.:

abach, 71, 91; *after*, 13, 17, 19, 21...; *at*, 11, 19, 25, 33...; *bafte*, 11; *baften*, 21; *bare*, 63; *bað*, 107; *craftes*, 65; *fader*, 7 (2), 9, 11, 13, 15...; *faste*, 15, 29, 39, 45...; *fasten*, 3, 137; *fastliche*, 21, 27, 29, 37...; *fatt*, 123, 135 (2); *glad*, 83, 107, 141; *gladliche*, 139; *gladnesse*, 137; *hwatliche*, 99; *raftres*, 95; *smac*, 17; *ðat*, 5 (10), 7 (2), 9 (2), 11 (2)...; *war*, 9, 53, 59 (2), 61...; *was*, 5, 7 (3), 9 (2), 11 (2)...; *wastme*, 51, 53 (2), 117, 119 (6); *water(e)*, 29, 43, 45, 79, 83, 119 (2); *watrian*, 147; also the following Pret. Sing. forms: *badd*, 97; *bar*, 49, 51, 87, 119, 125 (2); *cwað*, 53, 67 (2), 69 (2), 81, 109, 117, 147 (2); *spak*, 109, 117.

§ **28.** The Essex Pl.-Ns. have only *a* for O.E. æ; *Heselbusch*, 1227, and *Heselholt*, 1234, both of which occur in Ess. F. F. i, are probably Scandinavian forms (the former place was near Langenhoe; there is evidence of a small Scandinavian colony in this district, according to Ekwall, *Introduction to Survey of Eng. Pl.-Ns.*, p. 76; the latter I cannot locate):

Apeltonesfeld, 1224 Ess. F. F. i; *Bacunesacre*, 1218 ib. i; *Bikenacre*, 1203 C. R. Rlls. ii; *Bichinacre*, 1229 Ess. F. F. i; *Blakmor*, 1232 Cal. Ch. Rlls. i; 1233, 1239 Ess. F. F. i; *Farlingeshache*, 1206 ib. i; *Hachfeld*, 1227 ib. i; *Hachesote*, 1241 ib. i; *Laiacre*, 1213 ib. i; *Lothacres*, 1198 ib. i; *Tenacres*, *Tienacres*, 1206, 1207 ib. i.

(B) The Westm. Dialect.

§ **29.** The early Westm. Charters preserve the æ-spelling as a rule, e. g. *fæst*, 3, 17; *hæbbe*, 22; *wæteru*, 3, &c.

Forms with *a* occur in *habbe*, 3, 4, 19, 20 a, 20 b, 26, 27; and *þas*, 3. The only *e* form is *ðes*, 8.

§ **30.** The Cott. Westm. Ch. has the retracted *a*-type as a rule, thus agreeing with the City-Essex dialect:

aker, iv/192, 212; *at*, iv/190 (2); *bequað*, iv/191, 214, 216, 219;

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fast, iv/192, 205, 212, 213, 215; *fastlice*, iv/192, 204, 212; *habbe*, iv/211, 212; *ðat*, iv/190(3), 191 (3), 192 (4), 193, 205 (2), 209, 211 (3), 212 (2), 213, 215 (3), 217 (4), 219 (3), 220 (2), 221 (4), 222; *was*, iv/215; *water-*, iv/191, 192, 204, 211, 214, 215.

There are, however, distinct traces of the raised *e*-type, characteristic of Middlex. (§ 31):

bequeð, iv/191; *hebbe*, iv/228; *ðes*, Gen. Sing., iv/191.

Occasional spellings with *æ* also occur, which may possibly indicate a front vowel:

ðæs, Neufeldt 6; *ðæt*, Neufeldt 8; iv/191, 201 (3), 212, 213, 214, 219, 220 (2), 222.

(C) The Middlex. Dialect.

§ 31. There seems little doubt that the Middlex. dialect belonged to area (B), where there was a late raising of O.E. *æ* to *e*.

Dölle notes the forms *hebbe*, *hefdon*, *eafdon*, 'had', p. 16, besides the retracted form *fader*, p. 18.

§ 32. The easterly Trin. Homs. have both *a*- and *e*-forms. The *a*-forms preponderate slightly perhaps, and their frequency must be due to the influence of the City-Essex dialect:

after, 3 (2), 5, 7, 9...; *appel*, 35; *asshen*, 65; *at*, 11 (3), 17, 59...; *bare*, adj., 43, 139; *craftes*, 11, 181; *fader-*, 15, 17 (3), 19 (2), 23 (2)...; *fast*, 11, 43, 61, 103...; *fat*, 133; *gladliche*, 37; *habbe*, 1st Pres. Sing., 19, 39, 103; *hadde*, 21, 23, 33...; *hadden*, 23, 51, 101, 113...; *sac*, 139; *sad*, 75; *smal(e)*, 163, 207; *ðat*, 3 (4), 5 (8), 9, 11...; *was*, 3 (2), 5, 19, 21...; *(h)wat*, 11 (2), 17 (2), 21, 29...; *water-*, 41, 43 (5), 45, 47 (2)... Also the following Pret. Sing. forms: *bad*, 65, 93, 95...; *bar*, 47, 125, 135 (2), 159, 179; *brac*, 23, 113 (2); *quað*, 31, 125, 135, 145...; *sat*, 101; *spac*, 11, 153, 185, 199; *wrac*, 35.

The *e*-forms, however, are almost as numerous:

efter, 35, 47, 51...; *et*, 35, 39, 47...; *eðele*, 151, 187; *creftes*, 167; *feste*, 39, 189; *festere*, 191; *festliche*, 61, 77; *gledede*, Pret. Sing. > *glæd*, 97; *gres*, 25; *hedde*, 47, 61, 147; *hedden*, 141, 143; *nedden*, 69; *nes*, 195; *peðes*, 129, 131; *sed*, 75; *ðet*, 13, 37, 89...; *wes*, 35 (2), 45, 47 (2)...; *westme*, 19; *wet*, 49, 145. Also the following Pret. Sing. forms: *ete*, 47, 181; *bed*, 89, 101; *biqueð*,

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183; *forbed*, 211; *queð*, 73, 127; *set*, 59, 93; *spec*, 7, 35, 39...; *gef*, 99; *brec*, 23.

§ 33. On the other hand, the contemporary Lamb. Homs., which represent a more westerly Middlex. type and one further removed from the City-Essex influence, have *e*-forms as a rule:

efter, 5, 7, 9...; *et*, 5, 27, 29...; *epple*, 123, 153; *eðelic*, 21, 35; *beð*, 35; *creft*, 115; *feder*, 11, 13...; *fest*, 31, 37; *fette*, 81; *gled*, 39, 45; *gles*, 83; *hefde*, 3, 9, 11...; *nefde*, 5, 91...; *nefden*, 103; *nes*, 5, 17...; *smele*, 149; *þes*, Gen. Sing., 5, 9, 17...; *ðet*, 3, 5, 7...; *wes*, 3, 5, 11, 15...; *westme*, 13; (*h*)*wet*, 7, 11, 23...; *wetere*, 79. Also the following Pret. Sing. forms: *brec*, 19; *cwed*, 3, 5, 7; *set*, 5; *spec*, 13, 73; *ber*, 39, 131; *bed*, 85; *et*, 231.

The *a*-forms are much rarer:

abac, 51; *at*, 35, 47, 83; *fader*, 73, 77; *habbe*, 1st Pres. Sing., 5, 21, 27...; *nabbe*, 31; *nas*, 81, 91; *ðat*, 5, 7, 9, 19...; (*h*)*wat*, 17, 51, 75; *water*, 39, 51, 141; *bad*, Pret. Sing., 35.

An occasional spelling with æ occurs in the Pret. Sing. forms: *æt*, *æat*, 233.

§ 34. The Procl. Hen. III preserves the æ-spelling as a rule: *æt*, 22; *stedefæst*, 20; *ðæt*, 4 (3), 5 (2), 6;

but an *e*-form occurs in *wes*, 23.

§ 35. Davy has only the retracted *a*-type:

at, 73, 107, 139; *atte*, 113; *after*, 23; *bad*, Pret. Sing., 112; *glad*, 12; *hadden*, 76; *sat*, Pret. Sing., 59; *ðat*, 3, 7, 9...; *was*, 7, 9, 21...

§ 36. The M.E. Pl.-Ns. of Middlex. have *e* for æ:

Bernet, *Bernette*, &c., t. Hen. II, Dugdale ii/229; 1216 Rotl. Hund.; 1237 F. F.; 1272 Quo Warr.; *Coldesfeld* (> '*cald æsc-*'), 1252 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Estelham* (> '*æstel*'), 1291 F. F.; *et grenan forda*, *et hroces seaðum*, 845 Birch ii/29; *Exford*, *Exeforde* (Ashford), 1062 Kemble iv/812; 1293 Inq. P. M.; *Heselingefeld* (Clerkenwell Charter), *c.* 1130, Dugdale iv/85.

Occasional *a*-forms occur in Pl.-Ns. of S.E. Middlex.:

Stratford atte Bowe, 1279 F. F.; *Furacre*, *Sovenhacres* (Shore-

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ditch), t. Hen. III, Hist. MSS. Comm. ix, 15; *Haselingfelda*, t. Stephen, Dugdale iv/120.

§ 37. **Summary.**

(1) O.E. æ is retracted to *a* in the City dialect.

(2) In the early texts and Pl.-Ns. belonging to Essex, O.E. æ appears regularly as *a*, as in the City dialect.

(3) The early Westm. Charters generally preserve æ in the spelling, but *a* (rarely *e*) also occurs. In the later 13th c. documents the *a*-type is by far the commoner, but there are some traces of *e*-forms. Spellings with æ sometimes occur.

(4) In the Middlex. dialect O.E. æ becomes *e* by a late process of raising. The easterly area (Trin. Homs. § 32; Pl.-Ns. § 36) shows early and frequent traces of the City-Essex *a*-type, and by the time of Davy (*c.* 1307) this *a*-type is fully established in all Middlex. documents.

3. O.E. *ear*

§ 38. O.E. *ear* appears as *ar* or as *er* in M.E.; *ear* was monophthongized to *ær* in L.O.E. and was levelled with O.E. æ from Germanic *a* in those dialects which preserved this sound, i. e. in areas (B) and (C) (§ 24). In area (B) æ from *ea* was raised, along with original æ, to *e*. In areas (A) and (C) æ from *ea* was retracted to *a*.

(A) The City Dialect.

§ 39. The early forms of City Pl.-Ns. indicate that O.E. *ear* was monophthongized to *ær*, and then, with O.E. original æ, retracted to *a*:

Berewardeslane, 1285 Cal. Lond. Wills; *Heyw(h)arf*, 1279, 1283, 1294 Lett. Bks. A.; 1296 Cal. Lond. Wills; *Markeyate*, 1291 Tax. Eccles.; *Reswarve*, 1287 Cal. Lond. Wills; *Viswarf*, 1273 ib.; *Wudewarf*, &c., 1266 ib.; 1267 Cal. Ch. Rlls. ii.

§ 40. In the Essex dialect, O.E. *ear* appears as *ar* as a rule. V. & V. has an overwhelming number of *ar*-forms:

aforewarde, 105; *arche*, 43 (2); *arewen*, 63 (2); *art*, 25, 29, 41, 49, 51, 61...; *arme*, 21; *arvednesses*, 95; *ȝarke*, 73; *ȝarked*,

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103; *harde*, 45, 61, 127; *hardnesse*, 33, 45; *hark-*, 7, 19 (2), 25, 37, 49...; *harm(e)*, 9, 29, 59, 101 (2), 103 (2), 115, 117; *marc*, 57, 71; *middenard*, 105; *scarpe*, 23, 63, 65, 79; *ðeward*, 75; *warnien*, 7, 11, 21, 27, 39, 45, 51, 55, 57. Also the Pret. Sing. forms: *karf*, 91; *forwarþ*, 83; *warþ*, 105, 111; *warð*, 51, 117, 119, 137, 147.

Forms with *er* occur twice only—*ðerve*, 57; *werð*, 119—a negligible quantity.

A certain number of *ea*-spellings occur in this text. These may represent [e], but in view of the fewness of *er*-forms it is safer to assume that *ea* is here merely a traditional spelling, and that the actual pronunciation was [a]:

-eard, 35, 43, 117; *earme*, 17, 63, 89, 103; *earninge*, 21, 29; *hearme*, 65; *ofearn-*, 17, 19 (2), 25, 29, 33 (2), 51, 63 (2), 75, 77, 83, 113, 119, 127, 145.

§ 41. The Essex Pl.-Ns. have *ar*:

Ardleia, *Ardleye*, &c., 13th c. Col. Ch. i. 50, 63, 67...; 1253 Cal. Ch. Rlls.; t. Hen. III Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; 1275 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Farnham*, 1219 Ess. F. F.; *Hardleye*, t. Hen. III Cal. Inq. P. M.; *Herewardestoc*, 1234 Ess. F. F.; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Markeshale*, 1232 Cal. Ch. Rlls.; *Scharpfeld*, 1247 Ess. F. F.

The only *e*-form occurs in a London document:

Erdeleye, 1222 St. Paul's Doomsd.

(B) The Westm. Dialect.

§ 42. There are indications that O.E. *ear* became *er* in the Westm. dialect in E.M.E. The earliest forms are:

hwervis, 1081–5 Abb. Crispin's Westm. Ch., p. 130; *hwervum*, 1117 ib. p. 155.

The early 12th c. Westm. Charters preserve the *ea*-spelling:

ðearfe, 8; *-peardnesse*, 3; *Eadpeard*, 20 b.

The form *Eadward*, where *-ward* is unstressed, occurs very frequently (3, 4, 8, 12 . . .).

§ 43. The later Cott. Westm. Ch. has *er* as a rule:

mercweg, iv/37; *swerte*, iv/220; *ðerfe*, iv/216; *werdwite*, iv/216; *erf(e)werdnesse*, iv/192, 205, 212.

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Forms with *ar* occur occasionally:

marce, Neufeldt 32; *nytðarflicre*, iv/220; *upwarp*, iv/208.

The *ea*-spellings are sometimes preserved, and they probably indicate the *er*-type, which is more common than *ar* in the Westm. dialect:

ðearfe, iv/191, 214; *(h)wearfe*, iv/212; Neufeldt 31; *weard*, Neufeldt, 33; *forewearde*, iv/214.

(C) The Middlex. Dialect.

§ 44. The Middlex. dialect proper belonged to area (B), where *ær* from *ear* was raised to *er*.

§ 45. The Trin. Homs. have *er* and *ar* forms in about equal proportions. The raised *e*-type occurs in:

bern-, 21, 47, 49, 73, 91, 131, 219; *erd-*, 53, 59, 109 (3), 113, 133, 139, 149 (2), 151, 159, 173; *erfeð-*, 63 (2), 71, 125; *ernien*, 27; *erneð*, 53, 73, 195; *ofernið*, 199; *ernede*, 5; *oferned*, 189; *unerned*, 33, 135; *erninge*, 171; *ert*, 25, 29; *herme*, 69; *werð*, 147; *weruende*, 87.

The few *ea*-spellings which occur probably indicate the *e*-type: *middeneard*, 17, 171; *smeart*, Pret. Sing., 21; *wearð*, Pret. Sing., 181 (2).

The fairly frequent *a*-forms must be due to the influence of the City-Essex dialect:

arme, 149; *arm*, 95 (2); *armes*, 211; *arfeð*, 201, 205; *arueð*, 27, 49, 131, 185, 189 (2); *arueð-*, 123, 127, 131, 201; *dar*, 73; *hard(e)*, 95, 139; *harm*, 13, 79, 195 (2); *harmes*, 67; *quarterne*, 213; *ðarf*, 69; *-ward*, 45, 51, 55...; *warp*, Pret. Sing., 135, 167; *warð*, 83, 89, 99, 111...; *forwarð*, 155.

§ 46. The Lamb. Homs. differ from the Trin. Homs. in having an overwhelming number of *e*-forms:

derst, 27; *erd*, 59, 78; *erme*, 17, 27, 35, 41; *ermiliche*, 17; *iernien*, 19; *ernunge*, 17; *ert*, 27, 35, 39...; *herda*, 129; *herde*, 49; *herdnesse*, 47; *herm*, 13, 21, 27...; *hermen*, 107; *herpan*, 97; *middelerd*, 9; *sterc*, 5, 105; *perf*, 9, 37; *awerpeð*, 25; *werð*, 133, 157.

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The occasional *ea*-spellings probably indicate the *e*-type:

eard, 13, 59, 77; *earme*, 35; *eart*, 29, 57; *hearm*, 59, 66; *iearnunge*, 99; *iwearð*, 93.

Forms with the retracted *ar*-type are far fewer in proportion to the *er*-forms than is the case in the Trin. Homs.:

iarnede, 93; *swart*, 53; *-ward*, 3, 57, 73; *warþ*, 7, 41; *warpest*, 143; *-wa(a)rð*, 17, 41, 51...

§ 47. Words with O.E. *ear* do not occur in the Procl. Hen. III. Davy has only *ar*-forms (all in unstressed position, however):

aȝeinward, 19; *Edward*, 5, 51, 75...; *estward*, 126; *wiþerward*, 20.

§ 48. Pl.-N. forms give no information on the history of the development of O.E. *ear* in Middlex. at this time. A doubtful form *Horcherd*, Cat. Ant. Dds. iv, occurs rather later—1304.

§ 49. **Summary.**

(1) The City dialect agrees with the Essex dialect in retracting *ær*, from O.E. *ear*, to *ar*.

(2) The Middlex. dialect differs from the City type in raising *ær*, from O.E. *ear*, to *er* in E.M.E., though considerable traces of *ar* occur in the Trin. Homs. (East Middlex.).

(3) The intermediate Westm. dialect has the *er*-type, as a rule, from the late 11th c. till the late 13th c., but here and in other East Middlex. areas represented by the dialect of the Trin. Homs. the City *ar*-type is found more or less frequently.

4. O.E. *æl* + cons. (unlengthened)

§ 50. O.E. *æl* + cons. (unlengthened) appears in M.E. as *el* or *al*; *el* is from the O.E. fracture-diphthong *ea*, which was later monophthongized to *æ* and in a certain small area raised to *e*, probably in E.M.E. There are two sources for the M.E. *al*-form; (a) M.E. *al* represents the O.E. fracture *ea*, monophthongized to *æ* and retracted to *a*; (b) M.E. *al* goes back to the O.E. unfractured type.

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(A) The City Dialect.

§ 51. The early City dialect clearly had fracture (§ 65). From the evidence of Pl.-N. forms, O.E. *eal*+cons. (unlengthened) appears to have been monophthongized to *æ* and then retracted to *a*. O.E. *eal*+*d*, though normally lengthened in L.O.E., did not undergo lengthening when it formed the first syllable of a word of three or more syllables, and this element, which occurs frequently in City Pl.-Ns., appears as *ald.*:

Aldermanbury, *Aldremaneber'*, 1190 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; 1202, 1227 ib. i; 1267, 1286 Inq. P. M.; 1291 Tax. Eccles.; 1292 Lett. Bks. A.; 1298 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Aldredesgate*, 1196 Pipe Rlls.; 1197 F. F.; 1260 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1270 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix, 49; 1276, 1277, 1288 Lett. Bks. A.; 1299 Lett. Bks. C.; *Aldewycus*, *Aldewich*, &c., 1216, 1219, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1236, 1257 F. F.; 1290 B. M. Ch. and Rlls. i.

§ 52. Essex, like the City, retracts the monophthongized fracture form to *a*. In V. & V. an exceptional form *selm* occurs on p. 61, and a spelling with *æ*—*ælle*—on p. 49. Otherwise *al* is the only form:

al, 9 (2), 25, 27 (4), 31, 37, 39...; *allen*, 99; *alles*, 25, 31, 43...; *al(l)re*, 3, 47, 65, 85...; *almihti*, 15, 25, 37, 117, 145; *alswa*, 7, 13, 15 (2), 19...; *bevall*, 51; *falleð*, 109; *-grun(n)dwall(e)*, 93, 95; *half*, 51; *halve*, 79; *half*, noun, 27, 81, 99 (2), 117; *halve*, 107; *(h)alle*, 141; *halp*, Pret. Sing., 9; *halte*, 75; *salm*, 81; *saltere*, 113; *wallende*, 63.

§ 53. The Essex Pl.-Ns. have *al* only:

Chal(n)croft, 1222 St. Paul's Doomsd.; *Chalvescroft*, 1227 Ess. F. F. i; *Chalvedone*, 13th c. Colch. Ch.; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Chalfþi(c)tel*, 1198, 1275 Ess. F. F. i; 13th c. Colch. Ch.; *Chalfewurd*, 1182 Pipe Rlls.; *Halvehide*, 1203 Ess. F. F. i; *Walle*, *Wallam*, 1201, 1202, 1204, 1261 Ess. F. F. i.

(B) The Westm. Dialect.

§ 54. In the early 12th c. Westm. Charters the *eal*-spelling is preserved as a rule (*eall*, 4, 19; *healue*, 12; *stealre*, 3, &c.).

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But twice the retracted *al*-form, characteristic of the City-Essex dialect, occurs:

alle, 22; *stallere*, 8.

§ **55**. In the late 13th c. Cott. Westm. Ch. there is some evidence that the old fracture diphthong became a mid-front vowel [e]. Spellings with *el*, *il* (which must have developed from *el*, not *al*) clearly indicate this, and *æl-* and *eal*-forms perhaps mean the same thing:

ellswa, iv/214; *stellere*, iv/213; *Elfward*, Neufeldt 13; *Chilchelle*, Neufeldt 17 [Kemble iv/201 normalized this to *Cealchylle*]; *foresteal*, iv/216; *ælswa*, Neufeldt 3; [*alswa*, Kemble iv/204.]

The City-Essex *al*-type occurs frequently, however:

al(le), iv/190 (2), 191 (3), 192 (4), 193 (3), 201 (2), 204 (4), 205 (4), 211 (2), 212 (3), 213 (3), 214 (2), 215 (3), 216, 217 (5), 219, 220 (4), 221 (3), 227, 229; *allen*, iv/191, 192 (3), 201, 204, 205, 211, 212, 214, 215, 217, 219, 220, 221, 228; *allum*, iv/204; *alswa*, iv/190 (2), 192, 204, 215, 217, 221; *halfe*, iv/209; *stallere*, iv/191 (2), 204, 211, 217, 221; *forstal*, iv/187, 192, 208, 212, 213.

(C) The Middlex. Dialect.

§ **56**. The Middlex. dialect proper differed from the City-Essex dialect in having *el* for O.E. *eal*. This *el*-type, however, was early ousted by the City-Essex *al*-type. Consequently the Middlex. records have only slight traces of this original *el*-type, besides the more usual *al*-forms.

§ **57**. The early historical Charters have one *al*-form, *forstalles* (Dölle, p. 33) beside the usual *eal*-spellings.

§ **58**. The Trin. Homs. have no *el*-forms, but *eal* occurs occasionally:

ealse, 35; *sealmboc*, 51, 67, 73.

§ **59**. Otherwise they have *al* only:

al(le), 3 (2), 5 (4), 7 (6), 9...; *alre*, 19 (2), 25, 35...; *alse*, 3, 7, 9...; *alswo*, 21 (2); *bistal*, Pret. Sing., 7; *falle-*, 11, 31, 43, 73, 161, 177; *bifallen*, 73, 147; *half-*, 11, 23, 67...; *halle*, 139; *salm-*, 17, 23, 25, 43...; *salter*, 17; *salt*, 151; *walleð*, 151; *wallende*, 119, 173; *walkeð*, 143; *walkinde*, 147.

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§ 60. The Lamb. Homs., on the other hand, resemble the Cott. Westm. Ch. in exhibiting traces of an undoubted *el*-form. Both *el-* and *eal*-spellings occur:

abelh, Pret. Sing., 111; *helþ*, Pret. Sing., 79; *ealle*, 97; *forswealh*, Pret. Sing., 123; *swealte*, Pret. Sing., 225.

The *al*-forms are common, as usual:

alle, 3, 5, 7, 9...; *alre*, 101; (*bi*)*falle*, 63, 149; *half*, 31, 37, 81; *alfe*, 91; *cwalme*, 115; *salm*, 73; *salt*, 159; *saltere*, 7.

§ 61. The Procl. Hen. III has *al* only:

al, 32, 33; *alle*, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 15, 18; *alse*, 14; *alswo*, 14;

and so has Davy:

al - marchal, 164; *al*, 18, 22, 63, 138, 140; *alle*, 31, 44, 86; *als*, 16, 32, 33, 65, 158; *almiȝtties*, 166; *bifalle*, 154.

§ 62. The genuineness of the raising of *æl* from O.E. *eal* to *el* in Middlex. is confirmed by the Pl.-N. evidence. The modern Pl.-N. Chelsey goes back to *Cealchȳð*. In this word *eal* appears regularly as *el* from E.M.E., and occasionally as *il* with raising of *e* to *i*:

Chelchud, 1198 F. F.; Pipe Rlls.; *Chelcheth*, 1230, 1268 F. F.; 1291 Tax. Eccles.; *Chylchehuthe*, &c., 1265, 1269, 1273, 1277, 1280 F. F.; *Chilchehoe*, 1218 ib.

The Pl.-N. Chalkhill, which contains the same element (O.E. *cealc-*) as Chelsey, occurs in the early 12th c. Westm. Charters as *cealchylle* (No. 17). This must have become *Chelc-*, as it occurs as *Chilchelle* in the later Cott. Westm. Ch. (§ 55). The *el*-type did not survive in this Pl.-N., as it did in *Chelsey*; *al*-spellings occur early in the 13th c.:

Chalehull, 1235, 1236 F. F.; *Chalkhull(e)*, 1239, 1240 ib.

§ 63. Summary.

(1) In the City and the Essex dialects O.E. *eal* + cons. (unlengthened) was monophthongized to *æl* and then retracted to *al* in E.M.E.

(2) The Middlex. dialect differed from the City-Essex dialect in raising *æl* from *eal* to *el*.

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(3) The City-Essex *al*-type soon ousted the Middlex. *el*. The *al*-type is common earliest in North and East Middlex. (Trin. Homs., *Chalkhill*); the *el* persists longer in the South and West (Lamb. Homs., Cott. Westm. Ch., *Chelsey*).

5. O.E. *æl* + *d*

§ **64.** O.E. *æld* in certain areas underwent fracture in E.O.E., and after subsequent lengthening appears as *eald*, *eld*, &c., in M.E. In other areas fracture did not take place, and the M.E. form is *old*, *ald*, &c. Unlengthened forms, with fronting of an initial original back cons., like *chalf-*, *chalk-*, also indicate original fracture. The corresponding unfractured forms are *calf-*, *calk-*, &c.

(A) The City Dialect.

§ **65.** The City belongs to the O.E. fracture area. Heuser (*Alt-London*) has collected a large number of City Pl.-N. forms in *eld*, &c.—*Eld Jewrie*, *Eldefisstrate*, *Eldemariecherche*, *Eldechaunge*, *Choldherberwe* (a mixed form), &c. Some additional forms from other sources are:

Eldedeneslane, 1257, Hist. MSS. Comm. ix; t. Hen. III, ib.; t. Hen. III–Ed. III, ib. 23; *Elde Marie Church*, t. Hen. III Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Elde Mariecherch*, 1286, ib. i.

§ **66.** Occasional unfractured forms occur at the end of the thirteenth century:

Aldedeneslane, t. Ed. I, Hist. MSS. Comm. ix; *Oldefistrate*, 1291 Cal. Lond. Wills; *Oldefishstrete*, 1296 Hist. MSS. Comm. 26.

§ **67.** Essex, like the City, belonged to the O.E. fracture area. V. & V has a large number of *eal*-forms:

ealde, 7, 109, 111, 119, 149; *ȝeald*, Pret. Sing., 117; *healden*, inf., 37, 47 (2), 53, 55 (2), 71 (3)... *alden*, inf., 151; *healdeð*, 5, 7, 79...; *healden*, Pres. Pl., 77, 79; *healde*, 59, 121, 129; *ihealden*, P. P., 55, 65, 67, 79, 129; *ihealde*, 67, 79; *manifealde*, 81, 85, 87, 103; *sealde*, 11, 29; *twifeald*, 11 (2), 15; *twifealden*, 5; *unbehealdene*, 41; *wiðhealden*, 71, 101 (2); *wiðealden*, 61, 135, 139; *wiðhealdeð*, 135; *wiðhealden*, P. P., 37, 47; *wideald*, 135;

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wiðhealnesse, 43; *wiðealdnesse*, 135 (2); *widhealdnesse*, 131; *widealdnesse*, 131; *wiðhealdenesse*, 43; *wealden*, 13.

Occasionally *e*-forms occur:

elde, 27; *manifelde*, 79, 93; *iteld*, 77; *wiðheldnesse*, 135.

§ 68. This text has a few spellings denoting absence of fracture. These forms are probably due to the influence of the neighbouring dialect of Suff., which does not show fracture in M.E.:

alder, 111; *hald*, 61; *onfald*, 41;—*cold*, 107, 109.

A spelling with *æ* occurs in *æld*, 27.

§ 69. Heuser (pp. 35, 36) has collected material from the Domesd. Bk. and the Colch. Ch. to show that Essex belongs to the O.E. fracture area. Pl.-N. forms mentioned are: *Yeldham*, *Welda-*, *Celdewell*, *E(a)ldehethe*, *Cheldeberecroft*, *Cheldebenesmad*, *Chalfpitel*, *Chalvedone*, &c. Some additional forms from other sources are:

Cheldewelle, 1240 Ess. F. F. i; *Cheldewellewute*, 1240 ib. i; *Chaldewell*, 1223, 1234, 1247 ib. i; 1262 B. M. Ch. and Rlls. i; 1282, 1290 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Chaudewell*, 1205, 1247, 1251, &c. Ess. F. F.; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Eldebery*, 1259 Ess. F. F. i; *Eldefeld*, 1288 Plac. Abbrev.; *Heldeheye*, 1247 Ess. F. F. i; *Northweld(e)*, 1279 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; 1280 Cal. Inq. P. M.; 1296, 1298 Ess. F. F. ii; *Suthweld*, 1261, 1281 ib. ii; *Weld(e)*, 1254 ib. i; 1280 Cal. Inq. P. M., 1282 Ess. F. F. ii.

§ 70. Reaney (*Engl. Studien*, 61) has pointed out that a fair number of unfractured Pl.-N. forms occurs in early Essex docs. Practically all these, however, occur in names of places lying close to Cambs. and Suffolk, and the forms must be due to influence from these non-fracture areas:

Aldeberifeld, &c. (Clavering), 1234, 1255, 1271 Ess. F. F. i; *Aldecote* (Colne), 1218 ib. i; *Aldefeld* (Elmstead), 1208, 1247 ib. i; *Aldeham* (Colne), 1202, 1218, 1234 ... ib. i; *Calde(r)well*, 1234, 1285 ib. i and ii; 1289 Cal. Inq. P. M.; *Oldeden* (Chesterford), 1236 Ess. F. F. i; *Wald(e)*, &c., 1202, 1224, 1244 ... ib. i; 1281 Rotl. Hund.

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(B) The Westm. Dialect.

§ 71. The early Westm. Charters have only the fracture type, spelt *ea*. One æ-spelling also occurs:

ealdū, 3; *gehealda*, 3; *gehealde*, 4, 8, 18, 20 a, 22, 26.
ældum, 17.

§ 72. The later Cott. Westm. Ch. has fracture almost invariably. The fronted pronunciation is indicated by *ea-*, *e-*, and æ-spellings:

Ealdenham, iv/177; *Ealdred*, iv/192; *gehealde*, iv/190, 192, 193, 201, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, 220, 221, 222, 227, 229; *wealde*, Neufeldt 7, 21; *healde*, iv/216; *heald*, iv/216; *healdeð*, iv/204; *gewealde*, iv/192.
ældum, iv/202.
elden, iv/192, 212; *geheld*, iv/205; *gehelde*, iv/191, 213, 216, 218.

§ 73. Unfractured forms are very rare. Only two such forms occur:

alden, Neufeldt 17; *faldwurðe*, iv/208.

(C) The Middlesex Dialect.

§ 74. The oldest Charters have only the fractured *ea*-forms: *ȝehealde*, *ealde* (Dölle, p. 33).

§ 75. The Trin. Homs. have both fracture and non-fracture forms. The fracture forms are more numerous; both *ea-* and *e*-spellings occur (also *heold*, 165):

andwealde, 21; *atealde*, 133; *bihealde*, 171; *bihealden*, 35; *ealde*, 19, 161, 163, 185, 187, 193, 201; *fifealde*, 19, 35; *fiffeald*, 35; *geald*, 45; *heald*, 31, 179; *healde*, 11, 19, 29, 179, 191; *ihealden*, P. P., 221; *manifeald*, 33, 79, 195; *afeald*, 187 (3), 215; *seuefeald*, 171; *seuefealde*, 171; *tealde*, 31 (2); *twifeald*, 187, 215; *twifealde*, 187 (2); *iweald(e)*, 45, 63; *weald*, 79 (2); *wealde*, 79; *wealden*, 79; *wealdende*, 17, 123, 133.

athelde, 63; *bihelden*, 207, 211; *elde*, 215; *helde*, 217; *felefelde*, 51, 71, 157; *helden*, 213; *heldeð*, 87; *hundredfeld*, 203; *iteld*, 215; *manifeld*, 207; *telden*, 47; *ðrefeld*, 45, 65; *ðusendfeld*, 191; *twifelde*, 115; *weld*, 205; *welde*, 205; *weldede*, 45, 153; *weldeð*, 189; *weldende*, 119.

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§ **76.** A fair number of unfractured forms are scattered about; *old* is the usual spelling:

atold, 125, 135; *bihold(e)*, 53, 153; *biholden*, 137, 185; *felefolde*, 79, 99; *fiffolde*, 107; *holde*, 3, 49, 113; *holden*, inf., 61, 79, 87, 161, 181, 189; *manifold(e)*, 121, 187, 203; *old(e)*, 3, 47, 51, 125, 163, 199; *tenfold*, 135; *ðrefold(e)*, 29, 139; *twifold*, 13, 169, 181; *twifoldliche*, 169.

A few *ald*-forms also occur:

alde, 39, 191; *halde*, 41; *aldefader*, 165; *ȝiald*, Pret. Sing., 169; *halden*, 131; *wald*, 79.

§ **77.** The Lamb. Homs., on the other hand, generally have the unfractured form. The spelling is usually *ald*:

alde, 7, 43, 75; *anfaldliche*, 5; *astalde*, 19; *acwalde*, Pret. Sing., 87; *baldliche*, 125; *calde*, 95; *falde*, 75, 151; *ȝehalden*, P. P., 229; *halden*, inf., 11, 105; *ihalden*, P. P., 9, 87; *italde*, 87; *iwald*, 103, 177; *onwald*, 77; *salden*, 91; *twafaldeliche*, 5; *unwaldes*, 23.

A few *old*-forms occur:

etholden, 91; *hunfold*, 21; *monifold*, 11, 45; *olde*, 151.

§ **78.** Fracture forms are comparatively rare in this text. The following *ea*-forms have been noted:

ealde, 9; *ealden*, 89; *ealdre*, 23; *healdet*, 13; *sealden*, 91.

There are also occasional *e*-forms:

elde, 145; *iwelt*, 111; *weldeð*, 153.

§ **79.** The Procl. Hen. III has *healden*, 11 (2), 19; but also *halden*, 21.

No word with *æld* in O.E. occurs in Davy.

§ **80.** There are very few Middlex. Pl.-Ns. which illustrate the development of O.E. *æl*+*d*. The evidence, though rather scanty, clearly shows that Middlex. elonged to the fracture area:

Eldevord, 1277 Cal. Lond. Wills; *Eldstrate*, 1203 F. F.; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Eldstrete*, late 13th c. St. Paul's Doomsd.; *Veldeford*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.

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An early unfractured form occurs in:

Coldesfeld, 1252 Cat. Ant. Dds. i.

§ 81. Summary.

(1) Both the City and the Middlex. dialects originally had fracture.

(2) Unfractured forms occur early (*c.* 1200) in Middlex. texts, side by side with fracture forms.

(3) Spellings with *old, ald* are more frequent than *eld*-spellings in the westerly Lamb. Homs. than in the easterly Trin. Homs., where there are rather more *eld-* than *old*-spellings.

(4) Unfractured forms occur later in Middlex. Pl.-Ns. than in texts; earliest *old*-spelling in Middlex. Pl.-Ns. in mid. 13th c., in the City rather later (last decade of 13th c.).

6. O.E. æ¹

§ 82. O.E. ǣ¹ had a threefold development in M.E. In some dialects ǣ¹ (from West Germ. ā) remained until the E.M.E. period, when it was raised to slack [ɛ̄]. In other dialects ǣ¹ became [ɛ̄] and later tense [ē] in the late O.E. period. The possibility of a third development is now gaining general acceptance: i. e. that O.E. ǣ¹ was preserved as such till L.O.E. or E.M.E. and was then retracted to ā.

(A) The City Dialect.

§ 83. The City dialect had the retracted ā-type. Heuser has collected a large number of M.E. forms of City Pl.-Ns. in which O.E. ǣ¹ regularly appears as ā. My own collections, made independently, give the following results for the history of O.E. ǣ¹ in the 12th and 13th c.

In the 12th c. the City Pl.-N. forms have the *a*-spelling only, I have discovered no example of an *e*-form:

Candelwictestrate, &c., t. Rich. I Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; t. John, ib. ii (twice); *Colemannestrate*, t. Rich. I ib. ii; *Frideistrate*, t. Hen. II ib. ii; *Fridaiestraite*, 12th c. Hist. MSS. Comm. ix, 20; *Lim-*

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strate, 12th c. Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; *Mukewellestrate*, 12th c. Hist. MSS. Comm. ix, 23; *Wudestrate*, t. Rich. I Cat. Ant. Dds. ii.

§ 84. The *a*-spellings are exceedingly numerous in the 13th c. 116 forms have been collected, and a certain number of these is here given:

Bishopestrate, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Bradestrate*, 1276 Cat. Ant. Dds. i, &c.; *Bredstrate*, 1223 ib. i, &c.; *Brygestrate*, 1225 ib. ii, &c.; *Candelwikestrate*, 1266 St. Paul's Doomsd., &c.; *Cattestrate*, 1280 Cal. Ch. Rlls. ii; *Colemanestrate*, 1276 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii, &c.; *Corveyserestrate*, 1259 ib. ii, &c.; *Euerardeswellestrate*, 1222 B. M. Ch. and Rlls. i; *Fihstrate*, 1272 ib. i; *Fridaistrate*, 1201 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii, &c.; *Garscherchstrate*, 1284 Lett. Bks. A.; *Grobbestrate*, 1277 Hosp. of St. Thom., &c.; *Lymstrate*, 1245 ib. i, &c.; *Milcstrate*, 1235 Cal. Cl. Rlls. iii, &c.; *Sainte Marie Strate*, 1259 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Sandewystrate*, 1269 ib. i; *Sivethenestrate*, 1280 Lett. Bks. A.; *Thamysestrate*, 1271 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii, &c.; *Tourstrate*, 1286 ib. i; *Wdstrat*, 1203 ib. ii, &c.

§ 85. A fairly large proportion of *e*-spellings occur in Pl.-N. forms of the 13th c. I have collected about seventy in all. It is notable that only seven of these forms occur before 1270, and none of these seven is earlier than 1229:

Bishopesgatestrete, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund; *Bredestrete*, 1229 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii (thrice), &c.; *Bregestrete*, 1272 B. M. Ch. and Rlls. i; *Bruestrete*, early 13th c. ib. i; *Candelwycstret*, 1247 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii, &c.; *Cattestrete*, 1279 Cal. Ch. Rlls. ii; *Colemannestrete*, 1282 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix, 24; *Cordwanerestrete*, 1229 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii, &c.; *Figstrete*, 1269 ib. i; *Fridaystrete*, 1291 ib. vi; *Newestret*, 1235 ib. iii; *Themestrete*, 1284 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Tymberhuthestrete*, 1296 ib. ii, &c.; *Wodestrete*, 1277 ib. ii.

§ 86. Essex agrees with the City in having the retracted *ā*-type in E.M.E. A large number of *a*-spellings occur in V. & V:

dades, 15; *misdade*, 19; *misdades*, 105, 125; *baren*, Pret. Pl., 11, 119; *dradeð*, 61; *ondradeð*, 55; *dradinde*, 59; *dradnesse*, 73; *grady*, 139; *laten*, 3; *forlaten*, 111; *lateð*, 11; *forlateð*, 35; *forlate*, 93; *iforlaten*, 23; *lat*, 77; *unmate*, 19; *mað*, 139; *rad*,

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19; *rade*, 71; *radeð*, 7; *radinge*, 27; *sade*, 9; *sali*, 127; *unsali*, 79; *sate*, 11; *slapen*, 107; *slapinde*, 127; *spaches*, 11; *spake*, Pret. Pl., 11; *spaken*, 23; *ðar*, 3; *ware*, 17; *waren*, 19; *ware*, Opt., 11.

The traditional æ-spelling is very often preserved:

dædes, 103; *misdædes*, 65; *dræd*, 61; *drædeð*, 63; *drædnesse*, 59; *læten*, 37; *læt*, 69; *læteð*, 55; *forlæteð*, 5; *læte*, 91; *unȝemæte*, 19; *mæðe*, 107; *læche*, 27; *ræd*, 45, 85; *sæde*, 21; *ȝesæd*, 71; *isæd*, 105; *sæli*, 67; *slæpen*, 3; *ðær*, 69; *wære*, 21; *wæren*, 7, 81; *wæte*, 85.

§ 87. There are one or two *ea*-spellings:

deadbote, 105; *ondreadeð*, 55; *weapne*, 121;

and a few *e*-forms:

beden, Pret. Pl., 145; *bere*, 103; *let*, 81; *imeðful*, 139; *imeðe*, 139; *sede*, 17, 115; *speke*, Opt., 113; *ðer*, 63; *were*, 25; *weren*, 103.

§ 88. From the Colch. Ch. and Cat. Ant. Dds. Heuser (pp. 35–9) has collected a large number of Pl.-N. forms which have *a*-spellings for O.E. ǣ¹, e. g. *Portstrate*, *Tievesstrate*, *Brademad*, *Flexmade*, &c. The evidence of Essex Pl.-Ns. from other early sources confirms the view that O.E. ǣ¹ was retracted to *ā* in the Essex, as in the City, dialect:

Benlase, 1272 Quo Warr.; *Brademade*, 1198, 1202 Ess. F. F. i; *Cranesmade*, 1257 ib. i; *Frithemade*, 1202 ib. i; *Holemad*, 1198 ib. i; *Holestrate*, 1196 ib. i; *Kuenlase*, 1272 Quo Warr.; *Langemade*, 1206 Ess. F. F. i; *Lasecroft*, 1284 ib. ii; *Madebroc*, 1202 ib. i; *Monemade*, 1202 ib. i; *Noreystrate*, 1239 ib. i; *Nordmade*, 1197 ib. i; *Northstrate*, 1195 ib. i; *Norton Made*, 1275 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; *Pandmad*, 1198 Ess. F. F. i; *Sagodesmade*, 1202 ib. i; *Sudmad*, 1201 C. R. Rlls. i; *Suthmade*, 1200 Ess. F. F. i.

§ 89. Just as in V. & V. a few *e*-forms in words with O.E. ǣ¹ occurred, side by side with the more numerous *a*-forms (§§ 86, 87), so in the Essex Pl.-Ns. *e*-forms are found in early sources. A careful scrutiny, however, suggests that most of the early thirteenth-century *e*-forms occur in places which lie

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in North Essex, adjacent to Suffolk, an *e*-area (§ 344), or near Middlex. (West Ham, &c.):

Arnoldismede, 1275 Ess. F. F. ii; *Brademede*, 1206 ib. i; *Brodemede*, 1230, 1240 ib. i; *Buschemed*, 1271 ib. i; *Castrete* (Lexden), late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Cheldewellemede* (Dedham), 1240 Ess. F. F. i; *Estmede* (Broomfield), 1239 ib. i; *Fardenesmede* (West Ham), 1198 ib. i; *Holemede*, 1270 ib. i; *Liningesmede*, 1240 ib. i; *Lorebregmede*, 1240 ib. i; *Othulnesmede* (Roydon), 1272 Quo Warr.; *Ressemedd* (Thaxted), temp. Hen. III Cat. Ant. Dds. iv; *Riedmede* (West Ham), 1198 Ess. F. F. i; *Rommedwe*, 1285 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; *Smethesbrokesmede* (Theydon), 1257 Ess. F. F. i; *Sumerlese* (Chingford), 1222 St. Paul's Doomsd.; *Suthmed*, 1272 Quo Warr.; *Westmede* (Roydon), 1206 Ess. F. F. i; *Wicmede* (West Ham), 1198 ib. i.

(B) The Westm. Dialect.

§ 90. The early Westm. Charters preserve the æ-spelling in words with O.E. æ[1]: *læse*, 3, 17; *mæde*, 8; *stræte*, 3, 4, 22, &c. Only one other form occurs: *þar*, 17. This is probably due to lack of stress, and the spelling occurs already in O.E.

§ 91. In the later Cott. Westm. Ch. the City-Essex type prevails:

lase, iv/192, 204, 211, 217; *made*, iv/191, 214, 215, 217; *maden*, iv/211; *salðe*, iv/221; *strate*, iv/192 (2), 193 (2), 212 (2), 213 (2), 215, 229 (2); *ðar(e)*, iv/191, 212; *ðarto*, iv/212; *waren*, iv/192, 212.

§ 92. But there are a few *e*-spellings as well in this document. These *e*-forms show the influence of the Middlex. dialect proper (§ 101), side by side with that of the City-Essex dialect:

mede, iv/202; *ðera*, iv/191; *ðerinne* iv/201; *ðerofer*, iv/205, 216; *ðerto*, iv/205, 215.

§ 93. A few æ-spellings occur, recorded in Neufeldt's text: *mæde*, Neufeldt 7, 21; *þær*, ib. 14.

(C) The Middlex. Dialect.

§ 94. The eleventh- and twelfth-century Charters preserve

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the æ-spelling as a rule: *ȝelǣten*, *þǣr*, &c. (Dölle, p. 29). Spellings with *a* do not occur, but there are a few instances of *e*-spellings in 12th c. docs.: *leten*, *þer*, &c. (ib. p. 29).

§ 95. The Trin. Homs. have both *e*- and *a*-forms in words with O.E. æ[1]. The *e*-forms greatly predominate:

bede, 39, 83, 147...; *beren*, 89, 167; *breken*, 69, 91 (2); *dede*, 5, 9, 15, 17...; *deden*, 9, 13, 25...; *drede*, 51, 71, 73; *eten*, 99; *freten*, 155; *euen(e)*, 11, 67, 95, 99; *gredi-*, 173, 195; *leche-*, 41 (2), 57 (2), 77 (2), 79; *lete(n)*, 5, 7, 9, 13 (2), 15...; *leteð*, 5, 23, 27 (2), 41 (2)...; *neren*, 117; *red(e)*, 59, 61, 77, 101...; *sed(e)*, 151, 153 (2), 155 (8)...; *seten*, 117; *slepeð*, 39 (2); *slepende*, 193, 201; *speche*, 9, 13, 27, 63...; *speken*, 85, 117, 119; *strete*, 89; *þer(e)*, 5, 23, 35 (2), 41...; *wede(n)*, 29, 33 (3), 37, 57, 95 (3)...; *were(n)*, 25, 31, 35, 49.

The easterly character of the Trin. Homs. is shown by the occurrence of a fair number of *a*-spellings. These must be due to the influence of the neighbouring City-Essex dialect:

dade, 187 (2); *adrade*, 193; *gradi*, 29; *forlaten*, 7; *lateð*, 181; *naren*, 171; *radeð*, 11; *sad*, 161; *slape*, 7, 77; *slapen*, 7; *slapeð*, 201 (2); *þar*, 7 (6), 9, 11 (5), 15...; *(h)ware*, 11, 143, 145 (2), 159, 181; *wapne*, 11, 13, 191, 193; *wapnen*, 9; *wapnes*, 13, 191, 193 (2); *ware*, 7, 29, 129...; *waren*, 3 (2), 5, 17, 31.

§ 96. The more westerly Lamb. Homs. have scarcely a trace of the retracted *a*-forms. Only *radeð*, 133, and a doubtful form *þare*, 3, 23, 51, 53, have been noted. Otherwise only *e*-forms occur:

dede, 9 (2); *deden*, 57; *dreden*, 11, 21; *forlete*, 19; *leche*, 83; *leddre*, 129; *neddre*, 33; *red*, 63; *reden*, 55; *sed*, 3, 133; *speche*, 11; *strete*, 7, 91; *þerto*, 9, 71; *wepne*, 83; *were*, 5; *weren*, 11, 59.

§ 97. The Procl. Hen. III preserves the æ-spelling in *rædesmen*, 5, 13; otherwise it has *e*-forms: *redesmen*, 9, 24; *wher*, 16.

§ 98. Davy has only *e*-forms: *drede*, 64; *weren*, 29, &c. (see also § 101, where the probable phonetic value of the *e*-spellings in the Middlex. dialect is discussed.

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§ 99. With a few exceptions, discussed below (§ 100), the Middlex. Pl.-N. forms have *e* for O.E. *ǣ*[1]:

Adgorestrete, 1297 B. M. Rlls. & Ch. i; *Clerekenewellestrete*, 1253, 1270 (twice) F. F.; *Densemanestrete*, 1233, 1238 ib.; *Densyemannestrete*, 1246 ib.; *Fletestrete*, 1299 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii; *Hacchestrete*, 1236 Cal. Cl. Rlls. iii, &c.; *Holeburnstrete*, 1248 F. F.; *Lusmede*, 1258 ib.; *Redcrouchestrete*, 1233 St. Paul's Doomsd.; *Whitecruchestrete*, 1225 F. F.; *Wytecruchstret*, 1232 ib.

§ 100. The occasional early *a*-forms occur in the names of places in East Middlex. close to the Essex border:

Bokkemad (Stepney), 1250 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Brembeleyestrate* (Bow), 1281 ib. ii; *Eldestrate* (Shoreditch), 1203 F. F.; *Langemad* (Tottenham), 1271, temp. Ed. I Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Rissemad* (Stepney), 1250 ib. ii; *Hachestrate* (Stepney), 13th c. ib. i, &c.; *Holeburnestrate*, 12th c. ib. ii; *Eldest*^{a}*te*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.

§ 101. It is evident that, while the City-Essex dialect had *ā* for O.E. *ǣ*[1], the Middlex. dialect had *ē*. The question arises as to the phonetic value of this *ē*. Was it slack [ɛ̄] or tense [ē̝]? The *a/e* spellings in words containing O.E. *ǣ*[1] shortened are unreliable as a test of the quality of the corresponding long vowel. A form like *dradde*, Trin. Homs. 169, may come from O.E. *ǣ* shortened and retracted; on the other hand it may be formed on the analogy of the retracted long *ā*-type *drāde*. Forms with short *e*—*dredde*, Trin. Homs. 31—need not point to the O.E. tense [*ē*]-type, but may go back to the L.O.E. *ǣ*-type, shortened before a consonant-group to *æ̆*, and then raised with original O.E. *æ* to *e* (§ 31). This would explain such M.E. Middlex. forms as:

Stretfort, early 12th c. Abb. Crispin's Westm. Ch. p. 41; *Stretford*, Davy 113; *Stretforðe*, ib. 164.

The somewhat slender evidence available suggests that the Middlex. dialect had the slack [ɛ̄]-type. In the Lamb. Homs. there is one *ea*-spelling, *readen*, 115. There are also rhymes of *ǣ*[1] words with words containing *ēa* in O.E.:

reden-beden, 55; *red-bred*, 63; *red-ded*, 'dead', 63, 71.

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Davy has several examples of ǣ^{1}-*ēa* rhymes:

drede-bloodrede, 64; *glem-sonnebem*, 27; *weren-eren*, 'ear', 29; *were-ere*, 39.

§ 102. There are slight traces, however, of the tense [ē]-type as well. The form *weoren*, Lamb. Homs. 135, perhaps points to the tense type, and the rhyme *red-unhed*, O.E. *hȳd*, 69, is unmistakable.

Davy has a few tense rhymes beside the more normal slack type:

drede-mēde, 'reward', 165; *sede*, 'said'-*mēde*, 148.

§ 103. The evidence seems to indicate that while Middlex. originally had the slack [ē̞]-type, there were traces of the tense [ē]-type as well, even in the E.M.E. period.

§ 104. **Summary.**

(1) O.E. ǣ^{1} had a different development in the City and in the Middlex. dialects.

(2) In the City dialect, as in Essex, O.E. ǣ^{1} is retracted to *ā* in E.M.E.

(3) In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries *a* is the chief form in City Pl.-Ns., but from *c.* 1230 a few *e*-forms appear, and these increase in number, especially after 1270.

(4) The earliest records of the Westm. dialect retain the æ-spelling, but later docs. generally have the City-Essex *ā*-type, side by side with occasional *ē*.

(5) In the Middlex. dialect proper O.E. ǣ^{1} is raised to *ē*.

(6) While the more westerly Lamb. Homs. have *ē* for O.E. ǣ^{1}, with hardly any trace of *ā*, the more easterly Trin. Homs. and early forms. of Pl.-Ns. in the E. Middlex. area show considerable traces of the City-Essex *ā*-type, beside the more usual *ē*.

(7) Spellings with *a* do not occur in Middlex. texts after the middle of the 13th c.

(8) The quality of the *e* from ǣ^{1} seems to have been slack [ē̞] in Middlex., but there are slight indications from *c.* 1200 of the existence of another tense [ē]-type as well.

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7. O.E. æ²

§ 105. O.E. æ², from the *i*-mutation of W. Germ. *ā*, had, like æ¹ (§ 82), a three-fold development in M.E.—*ā*, [ɛ̄], and [ē]. The evidence for the later history of æ² is slighter than for the history of æ¹, but in the areas at present under consideration the indications are that æ² had much the same development as had æ¹.

(A) The City Dialect.

§ 106. In the City dialect æ² was retracted to *ā*. Heuser (pp. 22–33) has collected practically all the available material on this point. His forms include: *Sacollane* and other compounds (chiefly personal names) of *sa-*, O.E. *sǣ*, *Esterache*, *Overache*, &c. (? from O.E. *hǣþ*). Other *a*-forms for O.E. æ² occur chiefly in personal names, e. g. *Clanewater*, *Nauereattom* (Heuser, p. 33).

Heuser notes the early occurrence of *e* for æ² in *Secolelane* (p. 22). The form *Secole Lane* occurs in a doc. of 1289 in Hist. MSS. Comm. ix, p. 24.

§ 107. The Essex dialect has the retracted *ā*-type for æ². Spellings with *a* are frequent in V. & V.:

ar, 103; *arer*, 117; *araren*, 27; *arard*, 41; *ararde*, 91; *aure*, 9; *bemaned*, 137; *bemande*, 115; *clane*, 123; *clannesse*, 43; *dale*, 5; *dale*, vb., 39; *flasch*, 53; *hale*, 29; *unhale*, 29; *halen*, 71; *halde*, 119; *halend*, 21; *haden*, 51; *hadenesse*, 51; *hate*, 103; *laden*, 21; *lared*, 127; *lardest*, 21; *ȝemanlich*, 41; *naure*, 7, 13; *iradi*, 117; *tachen*, 59; *betachen*, 75, 83; *tachd*, 27; *tach*, 31; *twamed*, 87; *ȝetwamd*, 63; *twammen*, 131.

Spellings with æ are very common, and probably indicate the retracted [*ā*]-type:

ær, 15; *ærrer*, 83; *aræren*, 83; *aræred*, 101; *æure*, 3; *æurilch*, 109; *bemæn*, 113; *dæl*, 35; *dælden*, 77; *bedæld*, 41; *flæsch*, 97; *hæle*, 69; *unhæle*, 41; *hæðendome*, 31; *hæte*, 17; *lædet*, 73; *læned*, 79; *lændest*, 77; *ilænde*, 11; *lærd*, 111; *bilæuen*, 99; *belæfd*, 73; *næure*, 5; *tæche*, 47; *betæche*, 75.

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§ **108.** A few *e*-spellings occur:

clene, 83, 95, 121; *eure*, 21, 121; *flesc*, 21; *flesch*, 93; *flesche*, 87; *flesce*, 87, 131; *flesches*, 23, 135; *flescliches*, 43; *heðene*, 77; *leden*, 27; *neuere*, 5, 51.

These may represent tense [ē] and be due to the influence of the neighbouring Suff. dialect. On the other hand there are a few forms with *ea*. This is generally considered to indicate a slack pronunciation. But the possibility of a development of O.E. *ēa* to tense [ē] in Essex has been discussed elsewhere (*Englische Studien*, 61 (3), pp. 386–92). The exact value of the following *ea*-forms is therefore doubtful:

arearde, 111; *deale*, 65; *eaure*, 93; *leanen*, 11; *lean*, 77; *bileawen*, 75; *leawede*, 13; *leavede*, 79; *sea*, 45.

§ **109.** Heuser instances the following Essex Pl.-N. forms which show *a* for O.E. *ǣ²*: *Bichehath*, *Ryhath*, *Whatecroft*, *Watefeld* (p. 36); *Estathe*, *Westathe*, *Westache*, *Watecroft* (p. 39).

Some additional forms are:

Hathfeld, 1229 Ess. F. F. i; *Wateleg*, *Whatele*, *Wateleye*, 12th c. Abb. Crispin's Westm. Ch., p. 41; 1203 C. R. Rlls. ii; 1273 Ess. F. F. ii.

§ **110.** Forms with *e* for O.E. *ǣ²* are rare at this period. In discussing this point, care must be taken to distinguish between forms which go back respectively to O.E. *hǣþ* and to O.E. *hȳþ*. For example, *Eldehethe* (modern Old Heath, near Colchester), a form occurring in the Colch. Ch. and instanced by Heuser (p. 36) as an example of *e* for O.E. *ǣ²* in an early Essex Pl.-N. form, goes back to *hȳþ*, according to Mawer (*Introd. Pl.-Ns.* ii, p. 41). The *e* in *-hethe* simply represents the characteristic Essex development of O.E. *ȳ*. No genuine early examples of *e* for *ǣ²* seem to occur in Essex Pl.-N. forms.

(B) The Westm. Dialect.

§ **111.** The earliest Westm. Charters preserve the *æ-* pelling as a rule: *ælc*, 3, 19; *hæðe*, 3, &c. Spellings with *a* do not

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occur, but there is one *e*-form: *hlefdize*, 19; and one *ea*-form: *ealc*, 17.

§ 112. In the Cott. Westm. Ch. the City-Essex *a*-type predominates:

alc, iv/192; *dale*, iv/204; *haðe*, iv/192, 204, 211; *lafedye*, iv/190; *gemane*, Neufeldt 17; *gerad*, iv/222.

Two *æ*-forms occur in Neufeldt's text: *ælc*, 6; *geræd*, 31.
There is only one *e*-form: *hlefdige*, iv/216.

(C) The Middlex. Dialect.

§ 113. The early Charters preserve the *æ*-spelling as a rule: *ær*, *æniz*, *betæcan*, &c., but few *e*-forms occur: *bitechan*, *enig* (Dölle, p. 28).

§ 114. The Trin. Homs. have a large number of *e*-forms:

clene, 17, 27 (3), 29, 37, 45...; *clenliche*, 49, 55, 61, 93, 159; *clen(n)esse*, 7 (2), 49 (3), 65...; *del(en)*, 3, 29, 143, 157, 159, 183, 217; *deleð*, 7, 27, 61...; *deled*, 49, 157; *elch*, 3, 5 (2), 11 (2)...; *eche*, 37, 41, 65, 87...; *er*, 5, 11, 33, 39 (3)...; *erliche*, 13; *erest*, 35, 85 (3), 95...; *eure*, 45, 51, 53, 55...; *efrich*, 143; *hele(n)*, 19, 31, 33, 35...; *helest*, 71; *helend(e)*, 7 (2), 41 (2), 47, 69, 71...; *hese*, 27, 43, 51...; *hete*, 35, 87, 109 (2)...; *heðen(e)*, 19, 83; *lede(n)*, 7 (2), 15, 27, 37, 45 (2)...; *ledeð*, 9, 37, 39...; *lefdi*, 49, 133; *leren*, 93, 185; *ler(e)de*, 69, 139, 153, 163...; *mene*, 9, 27, 49...; *redi*, 49; *rere*, 77; *e*, 141 (2), 151, 175 (5), 177 (2), 179; *techen*, 117, 139, 217; *teched*, 41, 73, 103.

§ 115. A fair number of *a*-forms occur (cf. the similar *a*- for $\bar{æ}^1$-forms, § 95):

auer(e), 11, 23, 37, 161, 183; *afre*, 173; *auerihc*, 219; *ar*, 5, 13, 17 (3), 23...; *unhale*, 165; *hat*, 109; *laden*, 7, 9, 23; *ladeð*, 25, 37; *lareð*, 15; *nafre*, 165, 201; *naure*, 33, 35, 73; *tachen*, 17 (2), 215; *tacheð*, 11, 29.

§ 116. The Lamb. Homs. have *e* for $\bar{æ}^2$ as a rule:

clene, 7; *eni*, 3, 67, 75; *er*, 9; *erest*, 23; *euric*, 131; *efre*, 57; *flesce*, 9, 63; *flesse*, 19; *heled*, 75; *helen*, 105; *helend*, 3; *heðenne*,

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17; *hete*, 101 (2); *leden*, 7, 73; *nefre*, 43; *rereð*, 5; *se*, 87; *techet*, 19; *wete*, 101.

There are a certain number of *ea*-forms, probably indicating that the vowel had a slack quality:

eani, 33; *ear*, 3, 17, 19; *eauer*, 139; *leaden*, 89; *leadeð*, 3; *learð*, 95; *neaure*, 133; *sea*, 43, 51 (2).

§ 117. Spellings with *a* are much rarer than in the contemporary Trin. Homs.:

ariste, 45; *dal*, 47; *dale*, 123.

§ 118. In the Procl. Hen. III the æ-spelling is preserved as a rule:

æuriche, 32; *dæl*, 5, 14; *ilærde*, 3; *þære*, 33.

Forms with *e* and *ea* occur in:

(i)lestinde, 9, 20; *ileawede*, 3.

Davy has only *æ²-ēa* rhymes:

bileve-leve, O.E. *lēaf*, 100; *lewed-unshewed*, 144.

§ 119. Middlex. Pl.-Ns. containing elements with O.E. *ǣ²* are rare. No *a*-forms have been noted, but the following *e*-forms occur:

Windleshethe, 12th c. Dugdale iv/394; *Camprichesheth*, *Camprichtesheth*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. Also, rather later, *hethe* (Stratford), early 14th c. Liber Cust. i/407; *Fersheth*, 1363 Inq. P. M. ii; *Semannes Lane*, 1327 Cat. Ant. Dds. i.

§ 120. **Summary.**

(1) O.E. *ǣ²*, like O.E. *ǣ¹*, had a different development in the City and in the Middlex. dialects.

(2) In the City dialect, as in Essex, O.E. *ǣ²* was retracted to *ā* in E.M.E.

(3) Forms with *e* for O.E. *ǣ²* begin to appear in City Pl.-Ns. in the 13th c., but not in the early forms of Essex Pl.-Ns. till later. A few *e*- and *ea*-forms (= [ē]) occur in V. & V., and are probably due to the influence of the Suff. dialect.

(4) The Westm. dialect, according to the evidence of the

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earliest records, had *e* for *ǣ*², but later the City-Essex *a*-type predominates, beside occasional *e*.

(5) The Middlex. dialect proper had *e* for *ǣ*².

(6) Beside the regular Middlex. *e*-type, forms with the City-Essex *ā*-type occur with some frequency in the easterly Trin. Homs., but very rarely in the westerly Lamb. Homs. and not at all in the early Charters, the Procl. Hen. III, or in Middlex. Pl.-Ns.

(7) The appearance of *ea*-spellings in Lamb. Homs. and the Procl. indicates that the *ē* from O.E. *ǣ*² was slack in quality in the Middlex. dialect, and this is supported by the evidence of *ǣ*²-*ēa* rhymes in Davy.

8. The *sel-, seg-* groups

§ 121. The chief elements to be considered under this head are the forms from O.E. *self*(*a*), *sellan* and *secgan*. These appear in E.M.E. texts as *selfe, sulfe; sellen, sillen, sullen,* &c.

(A) The City-Essex Dialect.

§ 122. The regular forms in the City in E.M.E. were probably *selle, selfe,* &c. Pl.-N. forms give no help, but the Essex V. & V. has *e*-spellings as a rule:

seggen, 9, 11, 17...; *seggeð*, 35; *self*, 5; *selue*, 9; *seluen*, 5, 9, 13, 23, 25...

The only exception I have noted is:

siggen, p. 125.

(B) The Westm. Dialect.

§ 123. The early Westm. Charters have *i-, y*-forms as a rule:

sylfan, 4, 20 a, 20 b, 27; *sylven*, 26; *sylfon*, 22; *silfan*, 19.

There is one *e*-form in

selfan, 3.

§ 124. The Cott. Westm. Ch. has *i, y* as a rule:

mesilfen, iv/193, 201, 204, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217; *syluan*, iv/229.

Forms with *e* are less frequent:

meself, iv/209; *meseolf*, iv/209; *selle*, iv/215.

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(C) The Middlex. Dialect.

§ **125.** The easterly Trin. Homs. have a fair number of *e*-spellings:

seggen, 3, 27, 35, 37...; *self(en)*, 45, 47, 51, 61, 69...; *selue(n)*, 5, 7 (2), 9, 13 (2)...; *selle(n)*, 159, 213, 217; *selleð*, 157 (2).

§ **126.** There are also a certain number of *u*-spellings:

sulf(en), 45, 219 (2); *suluen*, 7, 65; *sulleð*, 157, 215; *sullere*, 214 (2);

and a few *i*-spellings:

silleð, 157 (2), 213.

§ **127.** In the Lamb. Homs. the most common form seems to be *sul-*, *sug-*, &c.:

suggen, 131, 133; *sullen*, 109; *solf*, 147 (2); *solue(n)*, 53, 61.

An *i*-spelling occurs in:

siggen, 19.

The *e*-spellings are:

seggen, 7; *seggeð*, 57; *segged*, 3, 59; *self*, 9.

§ **128.** The Procl. Hen. III has only *selven*, 21.

§ **129. Summary.**

(1) O.E. *sel-*, *seg-* appears as *sel-*, *seg-* in the Essex V. & V.; *sig-* is rare. The *e*-form, therefore, appears to be characteristic of Essex, and probably of the City dialect too, in E.M.E.

(2) The Westm. dialect generally has *sil-*, &c., but a fair number of *e*-forms occur in the 13th c. docs.

(3) In E. Middlex. *e*-forms predominate, but *u* is also common. West Middlex has *u* rather than *e*.

9. OE. *y̆*

§ **130.** O.E. *y̆*, from the *i*-mutation of W. Germ. *ŭ*, appears in M.E. dialects as *e̊*, *i̊*, or *ŭ*. It is usually stated that the original type in the Lond. dialect is *ŭ*, but that at an early date the Kentish-S.E. *e̊*-type was introduced, and further that the *i*-type of the L.M.E. period is of Anglian origin. Heuser

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(p. 45) has shown that the early occurrence of *ĕ* in Lond. is Essex, not Kentish, in origin, and he believes that the *i*- and the *u*-forms in Lond. are due to later influence from the Anglian and South-West dialects respectively. However, the early occurrence of frequent *ĭ*- and *ŭ*-forms, besides *ĕ*, in London has not hitherto been satisfactorily accounted for. The solution of this problem lies in distinguishing between the dialects of the City-area and of Middlex.

(A) The City Dialect.

§ 131. The City Pl.-N. forms in E.M.E. have as a rule *ĕ* for O.E. *y̆*. Heuser has collected a great deal of material on this point, though he unfortunately omits to date his forms. A careful examination of the available sources, including those used by Heuser, shows that while traces of the *i*- and *u*-types occur in City Pl.-Ns., yet in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries *ĕ*-forms are more frequent than both *ĭ*- and *ŭ*-forms taken together. The results may briefly be summarized as follows:

	ĕ	*ĭ*	*ŭ*
12th c. . .	10	3	5
13th c. . .	134	48	39

§ 132. The following are some additional forms from sources not noticed by Heuser. The *ĕ*-forms are the most numerous (75 in all):

Aldermannesberi, 1213 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix, 9; *Breg(g)estrete*, 1272 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i (twice); late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (3); *Cornell*, t. Rich. I B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Lotheber*, 1291 Tax. Eccles. (4); *Menchene Lane*, 13th c. Colch. Ch. (2); *-cherche*, 12th and 13th c. ib. i 3, 6, 13, 43, 50, 62, 67, 87, 660; 1212, 1222, 1241 B. M. Ch. and Rlls. i; 1257 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 16; 1291 Tax. Eccles. (27); late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (4).

Crepelgate, 1222 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1270 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 49; 1273 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; 1277 Hosp. of St. Thom. 249; 1291 Tax. Eccles. (4); 1295 F. F.; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (5); *Garlekheth*, 1291 Tax. Eccles.; *Quenehethe*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (2).

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§ 133. The *ŭ*-forms in City Pl.-Ns. are rare before *c.* 1270 (only 4 out of 37 noted):

Alderman(es)bury, 1197 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 29; 1202 Cal. Ch. Rlls.; 1267, 1286 Inq. P. M.; *Bokerel(l)esbury*, 1276, 1277, 1293, 1294 Hosp. St. Thom.; *Cornhull*, 1291 Tax. Eccles. (10); *Hulle*, 1289 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 17; 1291 Tax. Eccles. (6); late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Lamberdeshul*, 1283 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 19; *-churche*, 1242 Cl. Rlls. iv; 1282 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1291 Tax. Eccles. (3).

Cruppelgate, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Garlekhuth*, 1291 Tax. Eccles. (2); *Hutha*, 1228 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 22; *Tymberhuth*, 1271 Cal. Inq. P. M. i.

§ 134. There are fewer *y̆*- than *ŭ*-forms in City Pl.-Ns., but they are rather more common than *ŭ* in the early 13th c.:

Cornhillam, 1115 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 61; *Hyll*, 1216 ib. 17; *Hille*, 1218 ib. 17; *Lothebir*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *-chirche*, 13th c. Colch. Ch. i 18, 82, 95; 1214, 1222 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1232, 1234, 1245, 1247 Cl. Rlls. ii; 1257 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 17; 1291 B. M. Ch. and Rlls. i.

Crypelgate, 1291, 1296 F. F.; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (2); *Garlekhith*, 1291 Tax. Eccles. (2); *Hithe*, 1231 Cl. Rlls. i; *Quenehid*, 1219 F. F.; *Queenhithe*, 1275 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii.

§ 135. The *y̆* for O.E. *y̆*, as Heuser points out, is characteristic of the Essex dialect; the N.W. Essex text V. & V. has *y̆*, spelt *e* or *ie* as a rule:

abeggen, 103; *berieles*, 139; *berðen*, 71; *berðene*, 71; *cherche*, 27; *euele*, 9, 13, 27...; *eueles*, 39; *euelnesse*, 11; *fellen*, 137; *felste*, 151; *gelt*, 51; *gelte*, 115; *geltes*, 117; *kenn*, 7; *kenne(s)*, 9, 11, 25; *kere*, 113; *left*, 95; *hlesten*, 19; *hlesteð*, 41; *hlest*, 67; *leste*, 13; *leðre*, 51; *meneged*, 19; *meneȝinge*, 89, 101; *menstre*, 7; *merigne*, 103; *merhðe*, 31; *ofspreng*, 115; *ofsprenge*, 115 (2); *pette*, 109; *scette*, 143; *senderlicne*, 143; *senne(s)*, 3, 57...; *sennen*, 3, 7, 25; *senfulle*, 15; *seneȝin*, 15; *ðelliche*, 35; *ðerst*, 93; *werchen*, 77 *wermes*, 15.

chierches, 77; *chierche*, 139; *kiertel*, 127.

bredale, 95; *befelen*, 43; *befeleð*, 39; *befeld*, 83; *embe*, 39, 41; *feld*,

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83; *feldes*, 131; *hedde*, 125; *kedden*, 35; *kedde*, 55; *ikende*, 95; *screden*, 149; *isc(r)edd*, 107; *bried*, 103; *befielde*, 43; *fier*, 29; *inȝehied*, 65, 141; *inȝied*, 147; *ȝemiend*, 61; *imiend*, 23; *priede*, 89.

§ 136. A fair number of *ĭ*-forms also occur, but there is apparently no trace of the *ŭ*-type:

tocyme, 31; *drihten*, 43; *-frihti*, 71; *gylt*, 39; *kynn*, 49; *kinn*, 109; *kyng*, 81, 141; *kinge(s)*, 43, 49, 141; *kiningene*, 95; *hlisted*, 109; *hlist*, 93; *ofspring*, 9; *sinnen*, 111; *sinegede*, 83; *winne*, 145.

ȝekynde, 19; *ȝekynd*, 117; *ȝekyndes*, 69; *ȝekynden*, 33; *ikynde*, 21; *icynde*, 57; *ȝekinde*, 27; *kyden*, 23, 83; *cyded*, 57; *litel*, 51; *litle*, 43; *littlе*, 151; *litlede*, 49.

§ 137. The evidence of early Pl.-N. forms shows that Essex in E.M.E. was an *e/i* area, but there are also definite traces in the 13th c. of the *u*-type. From the following material, taken from sources other than those used by Heuser and Reaney, it will be seen that *ĕ*-forms predominate (85):

Bocherst, 1135 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Bundesbrege*, 13th c. Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Chishell*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (2); *Daneweberi*, 13th c. Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Denegeberi*, 1267 ib. i; *Duddingherst*, 13th c. ib. i; 1234 Cl. Rlls. iii; 1295 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (2); *Elmesberri*, 13th c. Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Erasseber'*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Fanbregg*, 13th c. Cal. Inq. P. M. i; 1274 ib. ii; 1296 ib. iii; *Folebregge*, 1275 Cat. Ant. Dds. v; *Frodebrege*, 1252 ib. ii; *Hallingeberi*, 13th c. Cal. Inq. P. M. i; 1229 Cl. Rlls. i; 1233 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; 1279, 1281 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Hobrege*, 1275 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; *Horiselle*, t. Hen. II Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; *Langeherst*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Litleber(y)*, 1200 C. R. Rlls. i; 1295 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (3); *Masseberi*, 13th c. Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Melfeld*, 1290 Cat. Ant. Dds. v; *Northambregg*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Reshey*, 1279 Cat. Ant. Dds. i, iii; *Ressemedd*, t. Hen. III ib. iv; *Runeshelle*, t. Rich. I B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Soberi*, &c. 1199, 1200 C. R. Rlls. i; 1260 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1272 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; 1293, 1294 ib. iii (4); *Stambreg(e)*, 1219 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; t. Hen. III, 1254, 1271 Cal. Inq. P. M. i (2); 1272 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1292 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii (4);

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Tilleber(y), 1201 C. R. Rlls. ii; 13th c. Cal. Inq. P. M. i (5); 1282 ib. ii; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (2); *Tolesberi*, early 13th c. B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (6); *Upmenistre*, t. Hen. III Cal. Inq. P. M. i (2); late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Wydipet*, 1232 Cl. Rlls. ii; *-cherch*, 1260 Cat. Ant. Dds. v; 1275 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; 1293 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; 1293, 1294 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.

Gelden, 1296 Cat. Ant. Dds. v; *Lettlebery*, 1295 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i.

§ 138. The *i*-forms are well represented, though they are fewer in number than the *e*-forms (52):

Affebrigg, 1203 C. R. Rlls. ii; *Asshebyr*, 1274 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; *Cheshill*, 1199 C. R. Rlls. i; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (2); *Dudinghirst*, late 13th c. ib.; *Fambrigg*, 1296, 1297 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii; *Hallingebiry*, 1232 Cl. Rlls. ii; 1236 ib. iii; 1242 ib. iv; 1274 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; *Hebrygg*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (2); *Horshill*, 1203 C. R. Rlls. ii; *Littlebyr*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Manbrig*, 1289 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Messebyr*, 1203 C. R. Rlls. ii; *Sobir(y)*, 1200 ib. i; 1270 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; 1279 ib. ii; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Stanbrigg*, 1232 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1274 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; 1297 ib. iii (3); 1297 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Sudminstre*, 1237 Cl. Rlls. iv; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Tebrig*, 1200 C. R. Rlls. i; *Tenrig*, 1200, 1203 ib. i; *Tillebir(y)*, 1201, 1203 ib. ii; 1236 Cl. Rlls. iii; 1248 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1263, 1267 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; 1274, 1275 ib. ii; 1278 ib. i; 1287 ib. ii; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (2); *Tollebir*, 1235 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Opminstre*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (2); *-chirch*, 1246 Cl. Rlls. i.

Litleberi, 1200 C. R. Rlls. i; *Litelhey*, 1298 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii.

§ 139. Forms with *ŭ* for O.E. *ў* are rare in Essex Pl.-Ns. The following 24 forms occur during the 13th c. and are not confined to any particular area in Essex:

Chishull, 1199 C. R. Rlls. i; 1235 Cat. Ant. Dds. iv; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Dudingehurst*, 1234, t. Hen. III Cl. Rlls. ii; 1263 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; 1299 ib. iii; *Hallingebur(y)*, 1237 Cl. Rlls. iii; 1240 ib. iv; 1274 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Hauecisburi*, 1257 ib. v; *Haverhull*, 1243 Cl. Rlls. i; *Hobrug(ge)*, 1245 ib. i; t. Hen. III Cal. Inq.

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P. M. i; 1272 ib. iv; *Horhull*, 1203 C. R. Rlls. ii; *Kingesbury*, 1271 Cat. Ant. Dds. iv; *Shobury*, 1299 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii; *Stanbruge*, 1297 ib. iii; *Tillebury*, 1238 Cl. Rlls. iv; 1295, 1297 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Tollebur'*, t. Hen. III B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i.

(B) The Westm. Dialect.

§ 140. The early 12th c. Westm. Charters have no trace of the City-Essex *ĕ*-type. The spelling *y* is preserved as a rule: *gebyraƺ*, 3; *mylnan*, 3; *cȳƺe*, 8, &c. There are definite traces of the rounded, so-called western, [*y*]-type, which is indicated by the following *u*-spellings:

geburad, 17; *furmest*, 17; *munster*, 19; *pestmunstre*, 18, 20 a.

Beside these there are a few unrounded *i*-forms:

griƺbrice, 22; *kincg*, 3; *cingc*, 26; *þincƺ*, 18.

§ 141. The later Cott. Westm. Ch. has the unrounded *ĭ*-type as a rule:

gebired, iv/192; *gebirad*, iv/192; *gebirƺ*, iv/211; *gebireƺ*, iv/204, 214, 217, 220; *gebiraƺ*, iv/217; *mundbirdnesse*, iv/205, 212, 213; (*mund*)*brice*, iv/192, 204, 212, 213, 216, 229; *undrihte*, iv/222; *firmest*, iv/192, 212; *king*, iv/190; *milne*(*n*), iv/192, 204, 217; *milnan*, iv/211; *minstre*(*s*), iv/190 (4), 191, 192, 201, 204, 205, 212, 213, 214, 215 (3), 216, 217, 220, 221; *wrdminte*, iv/192; *mirƺ*, iv/215; *Westminstre*, iv/17, 190, 191, 192 (2), 201, 204, 205, 213 (2), 214, 215 (2), 216, 217 (2), 219, 221, 222.

ȝekinde, iv/216; *kiƺe*, iv/192 (2), 193, 211, 213 (2), 217, 219, 221, 222; *cyƺe*, Neufeldt 1; *ciƺe*, iv/215.

Traces of rounding occur in a few words with *u*:

geburaþ, iv/202, 205; *munster*, iv/216.

There is one curious spelling, *griƺbreiche*, iv/215. This is probably due to the influence of the City-Essex dialect.

(C) The Middlex. Dialect.

§ 142. The development of O.E. *ȳ* in the Middlex. dialect differs entirely from the development in City-Essex. It has been shown that in City-Essex O.E. *ȳ* was early lowered and

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unrounded to *ĕ*. In Middlex. there are only slight traces of this *ĕ*-type, but both *i*- and *u*-forms occur with about equal frequency.

§ 143. The 11th and 12th c. Charters preserve the *y*-spelling as a rule, but traces of early unrounding occur in *bricze*, *grithbriches* (Dölle, p. 25). There is also some trace of the City-Essex type in the forms *griðbreces* (ib. p. 25), *kẽþe* (ib. p. 31).

§ 144. The Trin. Homs. have *ĕ* as a rule:

biggeð, 213, 215; *biggere*, 213 (2); *biggeden*, 91 (2), 93 (2); *birieles*, 147; *dine*, 117; *dintes*, 95, 189, 191; *fille(ð)*, 37, 67; *fild(e)*, 117, 127; *filste*, 75, 209 (2); *firs(e)te*, 3 (2); *gilt(es)*, 65, 69, 101...; *giltlese*, 105; *hilede*, 205; *kin(nes)*, 19, 23, 29, 81 (2)...; *kineriche*, 21, 185, 193; *king*, 3, 21, 45 (2), 53 (2)...; *(h)liste(n)*, 73, 79, 83, 107, 185, 191; *(h)listeð*, 61, 129, 155, 159, 199; *listede*, 163; *minigen*, 215; *minegeð*, 7, 63, 67, 69...; *mineged(e)*, 131, 139, 169, 195, 201; *imint*, 101; *minster*, 105, 109, 119; *pit*, 43 (2), 97; *sin(nen)*, 61, 69, 71 (2), 73 (4)...; *sinnes*, 7, 49, 55 (2), 59, 61...; *sinegen*, 101; *sinegeð*, 13, 73 (2), 103; *sinegede(n)*, 75, 95, 105...; *þinke*, 29; *þincð*, 7, 33, 203; *þincheð*, 73, 75 (2), 83, 93...; *þirst*, 75; *winne*, 43, 107, 129, 167...; *ifel*, 207; *iuel(e)*, 27, 29 (2), 31, 39, 63; *synne*, 5, 29, 31, 33...; *synnen*, 17, 41, 43...; *synnes*, 7 (3), 17, 19, 23 (2)...; *syn-*, 5, 7 (2), 41, 57....

filen, 127; *fild*, 11, 133; *fir(e)*, 5, 119, 169, 173; *fires*, 117, 119; *kidde(n)* 97, 115, 189; *kið(en)*, 49, 79 (2), 137, 139; *cið*, 59; *kiden*, 191; *kiðeð*, 189; *kidende*, 117; *lit*, 105, 117, 123; *litel*, 103, 129, 152 (2), 181; *lit(t)le*, 27, 211; *alitelwan*, 69.

§ 145. Forms with *u* are almost, but not quite, as frequent: *brunie*, 193; *burde*, 47, 87, 125...; *burden*, 63, 65, 79, 81, 137; *burieles*, 21; *burþe*, 47; *cun(ne)*, 11, 41, 219; *godcunnesse*, 73; *custe*, 145; *duntes*, 61; *ewebruche*, 137, 213; *uulle(n)*, 33, 35; *fulde*, 119 (2), 145, 181; *fulien*, 121, 141, 143; *fulste(ð)*, 93, 121, 175, 193; *uulsted*, 29; *gult(es)*, 27 (3), 35, 43 (2), 71, 73...; *gulten*, 205; *luste(n)*, 35, 65, 183, 199; *lusteð*, 17, 31, 141, 159, 181; *munigin*, 7; *muneged*, 5, 9, 11, 15, 39...; *munt*, 11; *murie*, 31; *muriðe*, 185 (2); *sun(nen)*, 5, 7, 31, 81...; *suneged*, 173; *þunche(ð)*, 179, 183, 201; *þurst(es)*, 13, 35, 123, 165, 173, 199 (2), 207; *wunne*,

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27, 29, 143, 161; *wunsume*, 185; *wurchen*, 59; *uuel(e)*, 39, 61, 67, 75.

fur, 37, 41, 47, 61 (2)...; *fure*, 171; *fures*, 119; *cudde(n)*, 35, 89, 187; *kudeð*, 199; *cuðen*, 35; *cuþen*, 105, 219; *cuð(ðen)*, 45, 181; *munde*, 87; *shrut*, 107; *scruden*, 9; *shruden*, 157, 159; *shrude*, 193; *s(h)rudeð*, 13, 193.

§ **146.** A few *e*-forms occur, but, relatively speaking, they are almost negligible:

beger, 213; *beggere*, 213; *ken(ne)*, 19, 29, 201; *meneȝeð*, 215; *unnet*, 27; *senne(n)*, 5 11; *sennes*, 173; *seneged*, 169; *iseneged*, 145; *wennen*, 195; *werchen*, 131; *euele*, 29, 183 (2).

§ **147.** Farther west, the Lamb. Homs. have a large proportion of *u*-forms:

abuggen, 9; *iburied*, 93; *buriene*, 37; *burinesse*, 35; *burðene*, 5; *brugge*, 31; *cunnes*, 5, 103; *curnel*, 79; *dunt*, 15; *eubruche*, 13; *ifullede*, 89; *fulde*, 89; *fulste*, 113; *-furhte*, 77; *furst(e)*, 19, 57; *gulte*, 7; *hulle*, 129; *luft*, 141; *lusten*, 41; *murie*, 129; *murðhe*, 13; *muneȝað*, 119; *putte*, 47; *sunne*, 55; *sunful*, 9; *sturað*, 111; *þunchen*, 35; *ofþuncheð*, 55, 69; *þurst*, 33; *wunne*, 145; *wurchen*, 109; *wurmes*, 51; *wursian*, 47; *ufele*, 3, 55; *umbe*, 95.

cunde, 51; *ikunde*, 77; *cuþen*, 93; *druȝe*, 87; *dusie*, 33; *ifuled*, 5; *fur*, 39; *bihude*, 109; *lutel*, 25; *lutthle*, 5; *prud*, 5; *þrude*, 7, 61; *scrud(e)*, 63, 79; *scrudest*, 23; *uþe*, 43.

§ **148.** Forms (including a few rhymes) with *i* are infrequent:

bisne, 5; *chirche*, 7; *drihten*, 5; *king*, 33; *sunne-inne*, 55, 63; *sunnen-linnen*, 67; *winne*, 147.

§ **149.** There are only slight traces of the *ĕ*-type:

embe, 51, 81; *unnet*, 23, 107; *asterde*, 95; *wurðment*, 107; *wunnebenne*, 55.

unhed-red, 69.

§ **150.** The Procl. Hen. III has *u* in:

Kanteburi, 24; *kuneriche*, 6, 33.

Unrounding to *i* occurs in *king*, 1; there is one *e*-form: *iwersed*, 17.

§ **151.** Davy has only *i*-forms.

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§ **152.** The early forms of Middlex. Pl.-Ns. generally have *i* or *u*. Forms with *i* predominate slightly (36):

Cressemilne, 1268 F. F.; *Fynnebyr*, *Vinisbir*, &c., 1230, 1252, 1271 ib.; 1273 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; 1288 Hist. MSS. Comm. iv; *Kyngesbyr(ig)*, &c., 1046 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1272 (2), 1281 F. F.; *Knichtebrigge*, early 12th c. Abb. Crispin's Westm. Ch. p. 41; *Lugpyt*, 13th c. St. Barthol. Recs. 450; *Monekenemilne*, 1250, 1251 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Pirifeld*, 1255 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Risc Lea*, 986 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; *Rislay*, 1205 F. F.; *Rislep*, *Risslipe*, &c., 1229 F. F.; 1238 Cl. Rlls. iv; 1241 Great Pipe Rll.; 1245 F. F.; *Rissemad*, 1250 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Riscmere*, 962 Birch 1085 (2); *Sunnebyri*, 1065 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Tothill*, late 12th c. ib. i; *Uxebridge*, *Wixebrige*, &c. 1205, 1219, 1248, 1271, 1275, 1281, 1292, 1296 (2) F. F.; 13th c. B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i.

Littelecroft, 1252 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Litlin(ge)ton*, 1201 C. R. Rlls. ii; 1242 Fees ii; *Lit(t)leton*, 1221 ib. ii; 1234, 1279, 1290 F. F.; 1291 Tax. Eccles.; 1297 F. F.; *Littilton*, 1281 F. F.; *Stebbehid*, 1200 C. R. Rlls. i; 1287 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; 1291 F. F.; 1295 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; 13th c. Cat. Ant. Dds. i.

§ **153.** The *u*-forms are almost as numerous (29):

Cheselputtes, 1274 F. F.; *Finesbur*, *Vinesbur*, &c., 1288 Hist. MSS. Comm. iv; late 13th c. St. Paul's Doomsd.; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund. (2); 1295 F. F.; *Fletebruge*, 1290 Mayors' Rlls.; *Kingesburi*, *Kyngebur'*, &c., 1271 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; 1285, 1292 F. F.; *Knyttebrugg*, *Cnichtebrugge*, &c., t. early Hen. III B. M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; 1260 F. F.; 1269 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Mapusburi*, late 13th c. St. Paul's Doomsd.; *Rugecroft*, 1200 F. F.; *Roggemere*, late 13th c. St. Paul's Doomsd.; *Ruslep*, &c., 1201 C. R. Rlls. i; 1291 Tax. Eccles.; 1293 F. F.; *Sonnebury*, 1291 Tax. Eccles.; *Sutbur'*, 1287 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Tothulle*, late 12th c. ib. i: *Wdehullescrofte*, 1252 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Wuxebrug*, &c., 1218 F. F.; 1242 Cl. Rlls. iv; 1277, 1293, 1296 F. F.; *Westmunstre*, 1047–65 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i.

Chelchud, 1196 F. F.; 1196 Pipe Rlls. 20; *Chylchehuthe*, 1265 F. F.; *Lutleton*, 1202 ib.; *Stebenuthe*, 1273 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii.

§ **154.** Practically all the early *ў*-forms occur in the names

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of places which are located near the City—Holborn, &c.—or near the Essex border—Tottenham, Edmonton, &c. (14):

Blemondisberi, t. Ed. I Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Fynesbery*, 1258 F. F.; *Kingesberi*, 1269 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Knitthebregg*, 1291 Tax. Eccles.; *Melnfeld*, 1296 Cat. Ant. Dds. v; *Melflet* (Edmonton), 1255 ib. ii; *Menechenefeld* (Edmonton), t. Hen. III ib. ii; *Ressecroft* (Bow), no date ib. i; *Serewesmelle* (Edmonton), 1255 ib. ii; *Sunnebery*, &c., 1257 F. F.; 1291 Tax. Eccles.; 1298 Cat. Ant. Dds. iv; *Tothell*, late 12th c. B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Woxebregg*, 1291 Tax. Eccles.

Chelcheth, &c., 1230, 1268, 1269, 1273, 1280, 1281 F. F.; 1291 Tax. Eccles.; *Stebeheth*, &c., passim (over 70 examples).

§ 155. The early simultaneous occurrence of the three *e*-, *i*-, and *u*-forms for O.E. *ȳ* in Lond. docs. and Pl.-Ns. has presented a problem which investigators find difficulty in explaining. The facts seem to be as follows. The *ĕ* is the characteristic type of the City-Essex dialect; Middlex. has both *i* and *u*. Occasional *e*-forms in Pl.-Ns. and in more easterly texts—e. g. Trin. Homs.—are due to the influence of the City-Essex dialect. Middlex. seems to have preserved the rounded vowel *y̆* until L.O.E. or E.M.E. Then a process of gradual unrounding to *ĭ* took place. This began in the east and moved west across Middlex. The unrounding process seems to have been arrested probably before the whole Middlex. area was affected. Thus more easterly texts like the Trin. Homs. and the Cott. Westm. Ch. have *ĭ* rather than *ŭ*, while the more westerly Lamb. Homs. have generally *ŭ*, as have the earlier (12th c.) Westm. Charters.

§ 156. **Summary.**

(1) The City-Essex dialect has *ĕ* for O.E. *ȳ*.

(2) Forms with *ĭ* occur in City Pl.-Ns. throughout the 13th c., and *ŭ*-forms occur especially after 1270. The *ĕ*-forms, however, are greater in number at this period than both *ĭ*- and *ŭ*-forms taken together.

(3) The City *ĕ* is Essex, not Kentish, in origin. The

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evidence of V. & V. and Essex Pl.-Ns. shows that Essex was an *e-i* area in the 13th c. Occasional *ŭ*-forms occur in Pl.-Ns. during that period.

(4) In the Middlex. dialect O.E. *ў* was retained till L.O.E., and then underwent a gradual process of unrounding to *ĭ*.

(5) This process began in the east and gradually progressed westward over Middlesex during the E.M.E. period.

(6) This process of unrounding is indicated by the evidence of *u*- and *i*-spellings in Middlex. texts. The early Westm. Charters have *ў* spelt *ŭ*, but in the later Cott. Westm. Ch. the *i*-type prevails. The easterly Trin. Homs. have spellings with *i* as a rule, *u*-spellings are rather less frequent. The Lamb. Homs. have *u*-forms as a rule, with few exceptions. Middlex. Pl.-N. forms have *i* and *u* from the late 10th c. onwards. Forms with *e* occur almost without exception only in the names of places in areas adjacent to the City and to Essex.

10. O.E. *ĕo*

§ 157. There appear to have been three areas of development of O.E. *ĕo*. In (A) O.E. *ĕo* was monophthongized direct to *ĕ* in L.O.E. In (B) O.E. *ĕo* was monophthongized to [*ĕ̈*] in L.O.E. This [*ĕ̈*] was preserved till E.M.E. and then underwent a process of gradual unrounding to *ĕ* (cf. the similar process in connexion with *ў*, § 155). When this had taken place, areas (A) and (B) became indistinguishable. In area (C) the rounded vowel [*ĕ̈*] from *ĕo* was preserved throughout the M.E. period.

(A) The City Dialect.

§ 158. There is no indication that O.E. *ĕo* ever became a rounded vowel in the City Dialect. The City, therefore, forms part of area (A):

Ferthingward, 1299 Lett. Bks. B; *Nethersothe*, 1235 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Nethersote*, 13th c. ib. ii.

Thatfliet, 1204 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii.

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§ 159. Essex also belonged to area (A). The V. & V. have both *e-* and *ie*-forms for O.E. *ĕo*:

erðliche, 11; *henen*, 17; *heuene*, 9; *heuenriche*, 7, 31, 45; *heuenlich*, 95; *beneðen*, 95; *neðer*, 5; *neðerin*, 49; *pesen*, 43; *seuen*, 91.

iernen, 81; *ierneð*, 51; *ierninde*, 85; *ierðe*, 9; *ierðliche*, 89; *ȝierne*, 29; *hierte*, 11, 17...; *liernin*, 23; *liernest*, 87; *liernið*, 49; *lierne*, 69; *ilierned*, 69; *lierning*, 99.

ben, 53, 61; *devel*, 23, 29, 49; *frend*, 115; *lef*, 147; *helden*, 97; *prest*, 123; *þesternesse*, 17, 113.

bien, 3; *biest*, 103; *bieð*, 29; *ibien*, 7; *diepliche*, 7; *dier*, 93, 139; *dieu(e)le(s)*, 9, 27, 39; *frie*, 135; *friend*, 21, 65; *ȝiede*, 69; *lief*, 3, 89; *forliesen*, 11; *hield*, 51; *hielden*, 73; *priest*, 29; *isien*, 31; *ðiester*, 139; *ðief*, 19.

A few spellings with *eo* occur, but they are probably traditional:

eorða, 27; *eorlic*, 27; *weorc*, 21, 95; *weork(es)*, 3, 61, 93, 123 (2).

beon, 121; *beoð*, 15, 49; *ȝeseo*, 81; *ðeof*, 111; *beweop*, 5, 85.

§ 160. The vowel from O.E. *ĕo* appears in the E.M.E. forms of Essex Pl.-Ns. as *e*, or, when the vowel is long, occasionally as *ie*. The only exceptions are *Dupeden*, in Shortgrove (near the Herts. border, cf. §§ 355 . . .), in the 13th c. St. Barthol. Recs., and perhaps *Mosegrave* (Springfield) in an undated document in the Cat. Ant. Dds. iv. This evidence is insufficient to give support to a theory of early rounding of *ĕo* in Essex. Pl.-N. forms containing O.E. *ĕo* are:

Berkinges, 1198 F. F. i; early 13th c., 1249 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; *Berking*, 1196, 1232, 1233, 1234 F. F.; t. Hen. III B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Nethereclayland*, t. Hen. III Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; *Nethere Wymfeud*, 13th c. Colch. Ch. i. 483.

Benet(es)feld, 1203 F. F.; 1294 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Benetly*, 1263 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Benetested*, 1201 C. R. Rlls. ii; *Benflet*, 1201 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1229 Cl. Rlls. i; 1232 ib. ii; 1235 ib. iii; *Depedale*, 1260 F. F.; *Depeden*, 1227 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1227, 1228, 1229 Cl. Rlls. i; 1235, 1236 ib. iii; 13th c. Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Derflet*, 1203 F. F.; *Houildeflet*, 12th c. Col. Ch. i. 230;

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Mesedon, 13th c. Recs. St. Barthol. ; *Preystes Croft*, 1250 F. F.; *Suthfleet*, 13th c. Colch. Ch. i. 87 ; *Thefhale*, 1267 F. F. ; *Bordfliet*, 12th c. Colch. Ch. i. 231 ; *Diepeden*, 1229 Cl. Rlls. i ; *Dieregrave*, 1202 F. F. i ; *Fliet*, 12th c. Colch. Ch. i. 230 ; *Walfliet*, t. Hen. III B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i.

(B) The Westm. Dialect.

§ 161. As a rule the diphthongal spelling *eo* is preserved in the early Westm. Charters—*eorl*, 18, 20, &c. ; *freond*, 3, 17 ; *þeof*, 48, &c. The only exceptions are : *frendlice*, 8, 19 ; and *niode*, 27.

§ 162. The Cott. Westm. Ch. usually has *e* :

erl, iv/215 ; Neufeldt, 1 ; *hennonforð*, iv/213 ; *hennen*, iv/215 ; *heuen*, iv/215 ; *sefen*, Neufeldt, 28, 31.

bede, iv/193 ; *be(n)*, iv/204 ; Neufeldt, 7, 14, 17, 33 ; *fre*, iv/191, 215 (2), 216 ; *fredom*, iv/215, 220 ; *frendlic(e)*, iv/190, 191, 192, 204, 205, 211, 213, 214 (2), 215, 216, 217 ; Neufeldt, 1 ; *frend*, iv/204, 211 ; *held*, iv/205 ; *lefne*, iv/216 ; *-ðef*, iv/187, 190 (2), 191, 192, 204, 205, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217 (2), 220, 228 ; *wef* (= *þef*), iv/187.

§ 163. There is some indication of the existence of a rounded vowel. A spelling with *o* occurs in *infangeneðof*, iv/193. A form identical with this occurs in one of Abb. Crispin's Westm. Ch., p. 152—a document, temp. Henry II, relating to Berks.

The *eo*-spelling is preserved in a few instances, and this may point to a slight degree of rounding :

eorl, Neufeldt, 1 ; *heonne*, ib. 7 ; *heonenforð*, ib. 23.

feolde, ib. 17.

Curious *i*-spellings occur occasionally :

hinenforð, Neufeldt, 27.

fridom, iv/215, 221.

A possible interpretation of these *i*-spellings is offered below (§ 175).

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(C) The Middlex. Dialect.

§ 164. In both texts and Pl.-Ns. of Middlex. there are definite indications that in E.M.E. the vowel from O.E. *ĕo* retained at least some degree of rounding in the dialect of this area.

§ 165. The Trin. Homs. generally have *e* or *ie*:

clepen, 21 (2), 89, 121...; *(h)erðe*, 53, 171; *fer(ren)*, 129 (2), 157, 161; *hercneð*, 199; *herte*, 5, 21, 29 (4), 31 (3)...; *heuene*, 3, 5, 9, 11 (2)...; *keruen*, 87; *lernen*, 73; *lernie*, 17, 23; *lerneð*, 89; *lemes*, 25; *nepe*, 165; *bineðen*, 173 (2); *neðer*, 111; *seuen(e)*, 87 (3), 107, 113...; *smerte*, 57, 61, 95; *smertinge*, 165; *sterre*, 161 (2); *sterres*, 109, 153 (2).

be, 3, 7, 9, 11 (2)...; *ben*, 9 (3), 11 (3), 13 (5)...; *beð*, 9, 27, 29, 37 (2)...; *bede*, 137; *cleuen*, 61; *crepe*, 95; *defle*, 11; *deflen*, 7, 13, 15, 33...; *deule(n)*, 39 (2); *deu(u)les*, 39 (2), 51, 61...; *depe*, 73; *ferðe*, 211; *fletende*, 177; *fleted*, 177; *fre*, 121; *frend*, 41, 43, 47...; *held(en)*, 113, 165, 197, 211; *lef*, 29 (2), 31, 79; *leuest*, 195; *unlef*, 189; *lemene*, 107 (2); *forlese*, 13; *forlesen*, 13, 29; *prest*, 11, 29, 57; *sen*, 81, 107, 127, 173, 187; *iseð*, 173 (2); *teð*, 165; *þre*, 3 (3), 17, 27, 29 (2)...; *wep*, 147.

bie, 19, 45, 57...; *bien*, 67, 71, 83...; *bieð*, 173; *diepe*, 43; *dieuel*, 35; *fiend*, 191; *frie*, 53; *hield*, 7, 65, 85 (2), 163; *hielden*, 23, 187; *lief*, 7, 57, 139; *liefe*, 59; *lieue*, 175; *siene*, 163; *þiefes*, 61; *þrie*, 3, 15, 19, 27...; *tien*, 31, 79; *wiep*, 145, 149, 151; *wiepen*, 147.

§ 166. The existence of a rounded vowel from *ĕo* is indicated by a few *u*- and *o*-spellings:

clupe, 43 (2); *storre*, 161; *storres*, 161.

ful, 155 (3).

Spellings with *eo* occur fairly frequently. These forms may either be traditional, or they may indicate some degree of rounding in the vowel from *eo*.:

eorle, 35; *eorðe*, 17, 21, 23, 27 (3), 37...; *heorte*, 27, 43 (3), 47 (2), 49...; *heouene*, 171; *leornie*, 199; *leornede*, 17; *neoðer*, 111; *neoðor*, 111; *steores*, 107; *steorre*, 141.

beo, 57, 71, 75 (2)...; *deor(e)*, 35 (2), 37, 39...; *deoflen*, 145; *feond*,

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205; *feorð(e)*, 11, 13, 19...; *fleonde*, 175; *heold*, 85, 147, 167; *leof*, 183 (2); *leoð*, 213; *leome*, 107, 109...; *teon*, 139; *teonde*, 217; *þreo*, 141 (2), 165 (2), 193; *withteo*, 67, 137 (4), 217.

§ **167.** Spellings with *i*, similar to those noted in the Cott. Westm. Ch. (§ 163), occur occasionally:

bi, 41, 91; *difles*, 87; *hiden*, 147; *biwipen*, 147; (*sicnesse*, 19, 77 (2), 167).

§ **168.** In the Lamb. Homs. spellings with *o* (once *oe*) are not infrequent:

icloped, 83; *orðe*, 61; *honen*, 83; *horte*, 61; *houeneriche*, 7; *lorne*, 73; *souen*, 13.

proest, 17.

bitwon, 61; *bod(e)*, 65 (2), 73; *bon*, 61; *dor*, 59; *drorigan*, 97; *oden*, 155; *fond*, 67; *volle*, 'fēollon', 61; *fower*, 51; *frond*, 17; *node*, 75; *prost*, 79, 85; *son*, 61; *istrone*, 75; *þosternesse*, 61; *þoues*, 79; *thro*, 73.

The diphthongal spelling occurs with some frequency:

eorðan, 11; *heofene*, 11; *heonen*, 11; *heorte*, 5, 11; *leornicnihtes*, 3; *seofeðe*, 39, 41.

beod, 87, 125; *creope*, 23; *deofle*, 7; *deop-*, 49; *deor(e)*, 19, 43; *eoden*, 3; *feond*, 7, 13 (2), 17; *feon*, 7; *freond*, 17, 33; *heolden*, 9; *leoue*, 5, 61; *neode*, 3; *preost*, 9; *iseon*, 57; *þeof*, 103; *þeoues*, 23; *treowe*, 5.

§ **169.** Side by side with the above forms—all of which probably indicate the existence of a definite degree of rounding in the vowel—there are occasional unrounded *e*-forms:

em, 115; *ȝerne*, 13; *herkien*, 31; *heuene*, 15, 59; *sefene*, 27; *smerte*, 83; *steruen*, 71; *werke*, 9; *werkes*, 107.

beo-we, 61; *deore-here*, 57; *volle-helle*, 61; *follon-hellen*, 61; *crepan*, 23; *dere*, 19; *vel*, 79; *lef*, 57; *prest*, 81 (2); *seke*, 111; *þeues*, 15.

§ **170.** In the Procl. Hen. III occurs an interesting form, *Hurtford*, 27. This may be a genuine Hertfordsh. form (there is evidence that Herts. belonged to area B); on the

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other hand it may quite as well be a Middlex. form. For the rest, the Procl. writes *eo* only: *eorl*, 2, 26 (2), 27, 29 (2); *beo*, 9, 20; *beon*, 12 (2), 17; *beoð*, 5.

§ 171. There is no trace of a rounded vowel in Davy.

§ 172. The evidence from early forms of Middlex. Pl.-Ns. confirms the theory of the existence of a rounded vowel in this area:

Northerhalgeford (Nether-), 1305 F. F.; *Sovenhacres* (Shoreditch), t. Hen. III Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 15.

Durrehames (Hendon), 1358 Cal. Inq. P. M. x; *Flot*, 1228 Cl. Rlls. i; *Furacre*, t. Hen. III Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 15; *Mosewella*, &c., 1152 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; no date Dugdale iv/85; 1231 Cl. Rlls. i; *Muswell*, 1262 Inq. P. M. i; *Prostmad* (Bromley), no date Cat. Ant. Dds. i.

§ 173. There are, of course, a fair number of forms with *e* as well.

Benetleg, 1234 Cl. Rlls. ii; *Dermodeswell*, 1246 F. F.; *Flet(e)*, &c., 1228, 1230, 1231 Cl. Rlls. i; 1234 Cl. Rlls. ii; 1277 Lett. Bks. A; 1299 Mayors' Rlls.; *Messewell*, 1229 Cl. Rlls. i; *Preston*, 1231 F. F.

§ 174. One form with the *i*-spelling occurs:

Binttle, 1291 Tax. Eccles.

§ 175. The forms with *i* in words which had *ĕo* in O.E. are curious, and seem to require some explanation. In the West Midlands O.E. *ĕo* was early rounded to [*ĕ̈*], and later probably raised to [*y̆*] (Serjeantson, *M.E. Dialect Characters*, § 90). If [*ĕ̈*] underwent raising in the west, it seems reasonable to assume that a similar raising took place in that part of the east where rounding occurred. In the east (area B) unrounding took place early, probably before the raising was fully completed. The result was that when the vowel from O.E. *ĕo* underwent unrounding in area (B), the vowel which resulted was perhaps no longer mid-front [*ĕ̈*], but something between a mid- and a high-front vowel, and was written *i*.

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These *i*-forms are always found in early texts and Pl.-N. forms associated with spellings which indicate partial rounding of the vowel from O.E. *ĕo*.

§ 176. Summary.

(1) O.E. *ĕo* has a different development in the City and in the Middlex. dialects.

(2) In the City and the Essex dialects O.E. *ĕo* is monophthongized direct to *ĕ*, probably in L.O.E.

(3) In the Middlex. dialect O.E. *ĕo* is monophthongized to [*ĕ̄*], and the rounded vowel, written *o*, *u*, *œ*, &c., is preserved till E.M.E.

(4) In E.M.E. [*ĕ̄*], which had perhaps by this time undergone some degree of raising, underwent a process of gradual unrounding which began in the east and progressed westward.

(5) Slight traces of rounding occur in the Cott. Westm. Ch. and the Trin. Homs.; in the Lamb. Homs., spellings which indicate a rounded vowel are very frequent, and they also occur in several early forms of Middlex. Pl.-Ns. In both texts and Pl.-N. forms the *e*-type is well represented however.

11. O.E. *i*-mutation of *ĕa*

§ 177. The problem here is to discover whether in the old Lond. dialect (City or Middlex.) there is any genuine trace of the W.S. *ie*-type, or whether both City and Middlex. had *ĕ*, which is normal outside the W.S. area.

(A) The City Dialect.

§ 178. The indications are that the City-Essex dialect had *ĕ* only, as might be expected. There is no evidence from City Pl.-N. forms of the development of *ēa–i*, but a few forms in *-welle* show the development of the mutated short diphthong:

Aruneswell, 13th c. Colch. Ch. i. 388; *Euerardeswellestrate*, 1222 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Mukewellestrate*, 12th c. Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 23; *Woundenewelle*, 1288 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii.

§ 179. In a City doc. (St. Paul's Charter) of 1122 in the

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Hist. MSS. Comm. ix, 60, the word *flemenesfremthe* occurs, indicating that the City dialect, like Essex, had *ē* for O.E. *ēa-i.*

§ 180. The Essex dialect has of course only *e* for both long and short *ea-i.* The mutated vowel is spelt both *e* and *ie* in V. & V.:

chele, 19; *derne*, 3; *derneliche*, 141, 143; *sceppend*, 63; *welle*, 115; *well*, 81; *dierne*, 3.

echen, 115; *eldren*, 103, 109; *eldest*, 149; *iheren*, 17; *herde*, 11; *hersum*, 5; *unhersum*, 75; *hersumen*, 137; *onlepi*, 115; *scene*, 95.

aliesen, 63; *aliese*, 15; *aliesend(e)*, 119, 101; *aliesendnesse*, 115; *ielde*, 49, 111; *ȝehieren*, 69; *ihierst*, 87; *ȝehiereð*, 123; *ȝehiere*, 53; *ihierde*, 143; *ilieuen*, 59; *bilieuen*, 25; *ilieue*, 21; *iliefst*, 39; *iliefð*, 25; *belieueð*, 27, 31.

ȝelief, 27; *ilieuen*, 25; *iliefde*, 109.

§ 181. The Pl.-Ns. of Essex have only *e* for O.E. *ĕa-i.* The ending *-well(e)* is exceedingly common:

Asswell, 1299 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii, &c.; *Bradewell*, t. Hen. III Cal. Inq. P. M. i, &c.; *Cestrewel*, 1247 Cl. Rlls. i, &c.; *Chaldewell*, 1262 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Chichewell*, 1200 C. R. Rlls. i; *Chigewelle*, 1158 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. ii, &c.; *Dodemanneswelle*, 1297 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Ereswella*, 1119 Colch. Ch. i. 3, &c.; *Haliwell*, 1201 C. R. Rlls. i; *Hareswelle*, 13th c. Colch. Ch. i. 44; *Kingeswell*, 1200 C. R. Rlls. i; *Lendwell*, 13th c. Colch. Ch. ii 536, &c.; *Pritelewell*, 1200 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i, &c.; *Redeswell*, t. Hen. III Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Runewell*, 1203 C. R. Rlls. ii, &c.

Stepel, *Steple*, &c., t. John B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 13th c. Colch. Ch. i. 96; 13th c. Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; 1232 Cl. Rlls. ii; 1239 F. F. i; t. late Hen. III B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1282 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; 1294 F. F. i; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Stepelbumsted*, 1260 F. F.; 1262 Cal. Inq. P. M.; 1267, 1299 F. F. ii; *Stepelton*, 1227, 1233, 1239, 1254, 1261 F. F. i.

(B) The Westm. Dialect.

§ 182. In the Westm. docs. the *i*-mutation of O.E. *ea* is invariably *e*, but words with O.E. *ēa-i* have both *e* and *i* (*y*).

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§ 183. The early Westm. Charters have *e* for O.E. *ea-i*:

erfe-, 3, 17.

The usual form for O.E. *ēa-i* is *e*:

flemene-, 3, 17; *herð*, 4, 14, 20 b, 20 a, 27; *alesednysse*, 3.

Forms with *y*, from the W.S. *ie*-type, occur as well:

flymene-, 22; *hyreð*, 8, 20 b, 20 a.

§ 184. In the Cott. Westm. Ch. *e* is the usual form for the *i*-mutation of *ĕa*:

erfe, iv/202; *erfewerd-*, iv/192, 205, 212.

alesednesse, iv/192, 204, 211, 217, 221; *flemene-*, iv/192, 202, 204, 205, 212, 213, 217; *hearð*, v/214; Neufeldt, 14, 19; *herð*, iv/191, 201 (2), 213, 216, 220, 227; Neufeldt, 8; *hered*, iv/209.

§ 185. There are also a certain number of *i*-forms:

flimene, iv/187, 214, 215, 228; Neufeldt, 14; *hirð*, iv/193; *hirde*, Neufeldt, 7.

(C) The Middlex. Dialect.

§ 186. There are indications that Middlex. in the O.E. period, unlike City-Essex, had both *ĕ* and *ĭe* for O.E. *ĕa-i*. It has been shown that forms with *i*, *y* for O.E. *ēa-i* occur with some frequency in the Westm. docs. (§§ 183, 185). The genuineness of these forms is confirmed by the occurrence of similar forms going back to the W.S. type in Middlex. texts and Pl.-Ns.

§ 187. The early Charters of the 11th c. and 12th c. have only *i-*, *y*-forms: *yrfnume*, *ȝyrde* (Dölle, p. 33); *ȝye*, *hrisyȝe*, *alysednesse*, *alisendnesse* (ib., p. 37).

§ 188. The Trin. Homs. generally have *e* for both long and short *ea-i*:

bicherð, 11, 193; *bicherde*, 59; *erf*, 39; *erming*, 61; *chele*, 35 (2), 123 (2), 173; *felleð*, 177; *gestinge*, 93; *sheppende*, 133; *sheppendes*, 105; *werne*, 17; *wernen*, 157.

flemeð, 87; *flemd*, 87; *heren*, 19 (2), 23 (2), 31...; *hereð*, 9, 19, 27, 51...; *hersum*, 51; *hersumien*, 55, 145; *hersumnesse*, 129;

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bileue, 17, 19, 21...; *lefde*, 125, 135; *lesen*, 55, 81, 97, 121; *lesde*, 19, 69, 101, 115; *alesede*, 5, 19; *alesd*, 61; *netisse*, 37.

§ 189. A certain number of forms with *i* and *u*, however, point to the W.S. *ie*-type:

gist, 165.

shuppieð, 211; *shuppende*, 123; *suppende*, 17.

dieliche, 7 (2), 25; *digeliche*, 5, 25, 191 (3).

nutten, 25 (2).

§ 190. The Lamb. Homs., too, have *e* as a rule:

chele, 79; *derneliche*, 152; *erfeðnesse*, 105; *ermðe*, 113; *welle*, 41.

chese, 53; *elde*, 109, 145; *eldere*, 145; *eldra*, 123; *ȝemen*, 11; *forȝemeð*, 13; *ȝeme*, 63; *iherden*, 5; *hersumian*, 21; *alesde*, 19; *alesnesse*, 15; *stepel*, 93.

Forms with *i* do not occur, but there are some spellings with *u* (a curious form *walmes*, which is probably a miswriting for *wulmes*, occurs on p. 141):

scuppend, 75, 129.

nutenu, 105; *ruperes*, 15.

§ 191. Davy has only *e*-forms:

here, 50; *stel*, 7.

§ 192. In the Middlex. Pl.-Ns. *-well(e)* is the only form, though a curious spelling with æ occurs in *Botwælle*, 831 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i:

Clerchenewella, *Clerekenwelle*, &c., 1175, late 12th c. B. M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; 1196 (2), 1210 F. F.; 1235, 1236 Cl. Rlls. i; 1242 Fees ii; 1274 F. F.; *Fackeswell*, 1196 ib.; *Godewell*, 1196 ib.; *Gosewell*, 1259 ib.; *Haliwell*, &c., 1201 C. R. Rlls. ii, &c.; *Hanewell*, 1150 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i, &c.; *Shadewell*, 1222 F. F.; *Skinnereswell*, 1196 ib.; *Stanewell*, 1198 ib., &c.

§ 193. For O.E. *ēa-i* the usual form in M.E. Pl.-Ns. is *e*:

Ruslep, 1201 C. R. Rlls. i; *Russelep(e)*, 1291 Tax. Eccles.; 1293 F. F.; *Riselep*, 1229 ib.; 1229 Cl. Rlls. iv; 1241 Great Pipe Rll.

§ 194. Two forms with *i* occur in:

Risslipe, 1245 F. F.; *Rishlip*, 1309 ib. [Cf modern Ruislip.]

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§ 195. **Summary.**

(1) O.E. *ĕa-i* becomes *ĕ* in the City-Essex dialect.

(2) The Westm. docs. have *e* only for O.E. *ĕa-i*. In this they agree with City-Essex. Forms with *ē* are common for O.E. *ēa-i*, but traces of the old W.S. *īe*-type occur in forms with *y*, later *i*.

(3) These *y*-, *i*-forms are typical of the Middlex. dialect. The early Charters have *y* only. The Trin. Homs. have *ĕ*, but occasional spellings with *i* and *u* occur. Lamb. Homs. have *e* and *u*. Rare *ī* forms occur in Pl.-Ns. Later texts have *e* only.

(4) Forms with *i* seem to be associated with the more easterly parts of Middlex. (Trin. Homs., Westm. Ch.); *u*-forms are found to the west (Lamb. Homs.).

(5) The evidence indicates that Middlex. must have originally had *ĭe* for *ĕa-i*, but that the original type was early ousted by the City-Essex *e*-type.

12. O.E. *i*-mutation of *ĭo*

§ 196. The O.E. *i*-mutation of *ĭo* is stated to have occurred only in W.S. This appears as *ĭe*, later *ĭ* or *ŭ*, in M.E. Otherwise *ĭo* remains unmutated, and becomes *ĕo*, later *ĕ*, or, in certain northerly areas, *i* from *ĭo*. There are, however, indications of the W.S. *ĭe*-type in M.E. Middlex. texts, besides the more common *ĕ*-type. The material on this point is very scanty.

(A) The City Dialect.

§ 197. There are no Pl.-N. forms which throw any light on the history of *ĭo-i* in the City dialect. The form *-fremthe* of 1122 (*flemenesfremthe*, see § 179) indicates that the *e*-type prevailed.

§ 198. Essex has, of course, only the *e*-type. Both *e* and *ie* spellings occur in V. & V.:

eruename, 117; *hierde*, 43.

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forbet, 3rd Pres. Sing., 89; *forbiet*, 3rd Pres. Sing. 81; *stieren*, 43; *istriend*, 117.

(B) The Westm. Dialect.

§ **199.** The Westm. dialect differs from City-Essex in having the W.S. *ie*-type. In the early docs. this is spelt *y* or *u*, which probably indicate a rounded vowel:

-fyrmðe, 3, 17, 22; *nytpurdlicre*, 8.

§ **200.** In the later Cott. Westm. Ch. unrounding has taken place, and the usual form is *i*:

firmð(e), iv/187, 204, 205, 213, 214, 215, 228; Neufeldt, 14; *fyrmðe*, iv/202; *hirde*, iv/204; *Scepirton*, iv/213; *mitwirðelicre*, iv/214.

The influence of the City type is seen in the following *e*-forms:

-fermð, iv/192, 212, 217; (?) *Shepertune*, iv/177.

(C) The Middlex. Dialect.

§ **201.** In the early historical Charters forms with *eo*, *e*, *i*, *y*, and *u* occur—*feormðe*; *fermðe*; *frimðha*; *wurðe*; *purða*; *scytt* (Dölle, pp. 35 and 40).

§ **202.** The easterly Trin. Homs. have *e*-forms as a rule (occasionally *ie*):

herde, 39, 41, 43; *herdene*, 41; *herdes*, 31 (2), 35, 39 (4), 41 (2); *smerede*, 145; *dere*, 145, 179, 197, 199, 213, 217; *strene*, 125, 135; *þesternesse*, 11, 13 (2), 15 (2).

flie, 165; *siest*, 29; *þiesternesse*, 9.

§ **203.** Traces of the *ie*-type occur in:

drigen, 13; *alimeð*, 107.
alumeð, 141.

§ **204.** Similar traces of the *ie*-type occur in the Lamb. Homs.:

fir, 103.
fur, 39; *horde*, 79.

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§ 205. Summary.

(1) In the City-Essex dialect *i*-mutation of O.E. *ĭo* does not take place.

(2) In the Middlex. dialect O.E. *ĭo* is mutated to *ĭe*.

(3) This *ie* later develops into [*ÿ*], written *y* or *u* (early Westm. Charters), and in E.M.E. this vowel undergoes unrounding to *i* (Cott. Westm. Ch. and Trin. Homs.). Occasional *u*-spellings occur, more especially in the Lamb. Homs.

(4) The City-Essex *e*-type occurs in Middlex. as early as the 11th c. (Charters), and is soon established in place of the more westerly Middlex. *ie*-type.

13. O.E. *ēag, ēah*

§ 206. O.E. *ēag, ēah* became *ēg, ēh* in all dialects in E.M.E. In certain areas the *ēg, ēh* underwent diphthongization to *-eih, -eiȝe*, &c. These are the prevailing types in M.E. There was a tendency, however, to raise *ēi* to *ī* in certain areas, but, as *i*-spellings are rare, it is often difficult to say with certainty whether this raising took place or not in a particular dialect in M.E. (For a full discussion of the problem see Serjeantson, *Engl. and Germ. Phil.* xxvi. 2, pp. 198...)

(A) The City Dialect.

§ 207. I have found no Pl.-N. forms within the City proper which throw light on the history of the development of O.E. *ēag, ēah* in the dialect of this area during the earlier M.E. period.

§ 208. There is evidence, however, that in the Essex dialect proper raising took place, but probably not till about the middle of the 13th c. In V. & V. (*c.* 1200) practically only diphthongized *ei*-forms occur (beside *eg*):

eiȝen, 49; *eiȝene*, 87; *fleih*, 137; *heih*, 55; *hei*, 7; *heiȝe*, 7; *heier*, 115; *heiȝest*, 35, 53, 67, 145; *heiȝin*, 5; *heisten*, 9; *neih*, 5; (*negest*, 129;) *neihȝeð*, 19; *neihibur*, 75; *steih*, 25, 143.

§ 209. In the M.E. period, in Pl.-N. forms, spellings with *-e*,

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-eia, *-eye*, *-ege*, &c., are very common. Examples can be easily found in any source, and over 300 such forms have been collected.

§ **210.** But from the second half of the 13th c., *i*-spellings occur side by side with the more usual *e*-spellings. These *i*-forms are found both in official records and in local documents:

Akely, 1285 Ess. F. F. ii; *Benetly*, 1263 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Relye*, 1270 ib.; *Reyligh*, 1284 Ess. F. F. ii; *Rumely*, 1279 ib.; *Takelye*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Tye*, 1240 Ess. F. F. i;—similar forms in family names in the Ess. F. F. ii are: *Barelye*, 1290; *Bely*, 1293; *Stratly*, 1283; *Tye*, 1289; *Yerdelye*, 1290.

Some additional forms from later sources may be added here:

Benetli, 1412 F. A. vi; *Hely*, 1412 ib.; *Heldelye*, 1349 Cal. Inq. P. M. ix; *Lygh*, 1412 F. A. vi; *Lyghes*, 1412 ib.; *Reylye*, 1322 Cal. Inq. P. M. vi; *Schelly*, 1428 F. A. ii; also *Hyestir*, 1412 ib. vi; *Higheston*, 1412 ib.

(B) The Westm. Dialect.

§ **211.** There is no evidence from the early Westm. Charters of the development of O.E. *ēag*, *ēah*. In the later Cott. Westm. Ch. only *e*-spellings occur:

Heandune, iv/177; *Lowereslege*, vi/16; *lea*, iv/220; *Gæccelege*, vi/37; *Gecceleage*, vi/37.

(C) The Middlex. Dialect.

§ **212.** There are no *i*-spellings in the early Middlex. sources.

The Trin. Homs. have the undiphthongized *eh-*, *eg-* form as a rule:

abeh, 111; *fleh*, 127; *fleg*, 127; *ege*, 65; *egen*, 25, 53, 83 . . .; *eȝen*, 191, 201, 207, 215; *eȝene*, 217; *heg(e)*, 35, 89, 91 . . .; *heh*, 111, 135 (2), 137, 217; *hegh*, 57, 111 (2), 155; *nehg*, 57; *nehgie*, 189; *neh*, 57, 95 . . .; *teh*, 139; *tegh*, 145.

A certain number of diphthongized *ei*-forms occur, similar to those in V. & V.:

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eie, 185; *eien*, 23, 35, 181, 183; *hei-*, 3, 143; *neih*, 33, 197, 199; *neih-*, 9, 33, 161.

Twice the traditional *ēa*-spelling is preserved:

teaȝhe, 193; *teah*, 185.

§ **213.** The Lamb. Homs. seem to have practically no trace of the diphthongized *ei*-form. Spellings with *eh* and *eȝ* are the rule, with very little exception:

abeh, 45; *eȝe*, 15; *eȝan*, 23; *fleh*, 81; *hehe*, 15, 19, 79; *heȝe*, 17, 41; *hehliche*, 5; *neh*, 43, 95; *nehlecheð*, 35; *nehlechede*, 3; *fulneh*, 29;

but

eie, 19.

§ **214.** Davy has two examples of the diphthongized type in: *heiȝe*, 139; *þeiȝ*, 156.

§ **215.** In the early forms of Middlex. Pl.-Ns. only *e-*, *ey-* spellings have been found (59 forms in all):

Brambeley, 1144 Cat. Ant. Dds. i, &c.; *Couele*, 1203 F. F., &c.; *Dalleye*, 1276 ib., &c.; *Finchesleye*, 1252 ib., &c.; *Hegfeld*, 1226 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii, &c.; *Stepele*, 1200 C. R. Rlls. i, &c.

§ 216. Summary.

(1) Only *e-* and *ei*-spellings occur in docs. and Pl.-Ns. of Middlex. in E.M.E.

(2) The diphthongal spelling *ei*, *ey* occurs especially in easterly texts—in V. & V. and to some extent in the Trin. Homs.—in Middlex. Pl.-Ns., and later in Davy.

(3) The *eh-*, *e*-forms are more frequent than the *ei*-forms in Trin. Homs. and are practically the only spelling in the Cott. Westm. Ch. and in the westerly Lamb. Homs.

(4) Early Pl.-N. forms with the *i*-spelling occur in Essex from *c.* 1260 onwards.

(5) The evidence seems to indicate that the tense *eh*, &c., was retained in W. Middlex., that diphthongization to *eih*, &c., took place in E. Middlex., ? the City, and Essex, while in

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Essex this *ei* was raised to *ī* in the 13th c. There is so far no evidence to show whether or not raising to *ī* took place in the City dialect at the same time.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE MATERIAL

§ 217. In discussing the details of the dialect features of City-Essex and Middlex. in E.M.E., Pl.-Ns. have been used, as well as texts.

A comparison between the Essex Pl.-N. forms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the V. & V. (*c.* 1200) shows a striking agreement between the two, and confirms the localization of V. & V. in this area. There is a similar, equally satisfactory, agreement between the Middlex. Pl.-N. forms of the earlier M.E. period on the one hand, and the two groups of Homilies on the other.

A detailed examination of various dialect features has thrown into relief the striking difference between the early City and the early Middlex. dialects, though by the end of the 13th c. there are distinct indications that alternative forms are dying out, and that one type is gradually establishing itself.

In the following paragraph and in Table I (p. 84) are given in summarized form the features of the various dialects under consideration, in order that the contrasts and agreements of each may be seen.

§ 218. The Dialect Complex of the Three Types in E.M.E.

An examination of the early London sources shows that, in the E.M.E. period, the dialect of the City was quite distinct from the contemporary Middlex. dialect. The City dialect was easterly in character and was identical with the early Essex dialect, while the dialect of Middlex. at the same period was much more westerly. The evidence shows that the two dialects had originally very few features in common.

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This distinction is confirmed by the evidence afforded by the Westm. dialect. Westminster, at this date, did not form part of the City, but lay a short distance to the west of the old city walls, and within the county of Middlesex. As might be expected from its geographical position, the dialect of this area shares some of the peculiarities of the City-Essex type, and some of those of the Middlex.

There is no evidence of any specifically Kentish influence in either the City or the Middlex. dialect.

City Dialect Complex: 1. *an* for O.E. *an-i.* 2. *a* for O.E. *æ.* 3. *ar* for O.E. *ear.* 4. *al* for O.E. *æl*+cons. (unlengthened). 5. *eld* for O.E. *æl*+*d.* 6. *ā* for O.E. *ǣ*[1]. 7. *ā* for O.E. *ǣ*[2]. 8. *ĕ* for O.E. *ў.* 9. *ĕ* for O.E. *ĕo.* ? 10. *ĕ* for O.E. *ĕa-i.* ? 11. *ĕ* for O.E. *ĭo-i.* ? 12. *ey* for O.E. *ēag, ēah.*

This agrees on all points with the dialect of Essex, as revealed in V. & V. and in early forms of Essex Pl.-Ns.

No adequate material has been found for determining the development of *ēa-i* and *ĭo-i* in the early City dialect. The evidence from Essex sources, and also from occasional forms of City Pl.-Ns. at a slightly later date, indicates that in all probability the City dialect had *ē* for *ēa-i* and *ĕ* for *ĭo-i.*

Middlesex Dialect Complex: 1. *en* for O.E. *an-i.* 2. *e* for O.E. *æ.* 3. *er* for O.E. *ear.* 4. *el* for O.E. *æl*+cons. (unlengthened). 5. *eld* for O.E. *æl*+*d.* 6. [ɛ̄] for O.E. *ǣ*[1]. 7. [ɛ̄] for O.E. *ǣ*[2]. 8. *ŭ*, later *ĭ*, for O.E. *ў.* 9. *ĕ* [*ø̆*] for O.E. *ĕo.* 10. *ĕ*, *ĭ*, *ŭ* for O.E. *ĕa-i.* 11. *ĕ*, *ĭ*, *ŭ* for O.E. *ĭo-i.* 12. *eg*, *eie*, &c., for O.E. *ēag, ēah.*

It will be seen at a glance that the Middlex. dialect is a striking contrast to the City dialect. Middlex. differs from the City in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and probably 11. They agree only in Nos. 5 and perhaps 12.

It might seem almost impossible that the two areas of the City of London and of the County of Middlesex, which are so closely connected, geographically and otherwise, should have such totally different dialects. Fortunately there is support

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forthcoming for this conclusion from the evidence of the Westm. docs., the dialect of which reveals a remarkable blend of City and Middlex. features.

TABLE I

Comparative Table of the main Dialect Features of Essex, City, Westm. and Middlex. in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Test Vowel	ESSEX	CITY	WESTM.	MIDDLEX.
1. O.E. *an-i* .	a	a	e (a)	e
2. O.E. *æ* . .	a	a	a, e	e
3. O.E. *ear* . .	a	a	e (a)	e (a)
4. O.E. *æl*+c. .	a	a	a (e)	a, e
5. O.E. *æld*. .	eld	eld	eld	eld (ald)
6. O.E. $\bar{æ}^1$ . .	ā	ā	ā, ē	ē
7. O.E. $\bar{æ}^2$ . .	ā	ā	ā (ē)	ē
8. O.E. $\breve{y}$. . .	ĕ, ĭ (ŭ)	ĕ (ŭ, ĭ)	ĭ (ŭ)	ĭ ŭ
9. O.E. *ĕo* . .	ĕ	ĕ	ĕ (ø̄)	ĕ, ø̆
10. O.E. *ĕa-i*. .	ĕ	ĕ	ĕ (ī)	ĕ (ĭ, ŭ)
11. O.E. *ĭo-i*. .	ĕ	ĕ	ĭ (ē)	ĕ (ĭ, ŭ)
12. O.E. *ēag, ēah*	ēi, ī	ʔ ēi	ē	ē (ēi)

Westm. Dialect Complex: 1. *en*, rarely *an*, for O.E. *an-i*. 2. *a*, rarely *e*, for O.E. *æ*. 3. *er* (*ar*) for O.E. *ear*. 4. *al* (*el*) for O.E. *æl*+cons. (unlengthened). 5. *eld* for O.E. *æl*+*d*. 6. *ā*, rarely *ē*, for O.E. $\bar{æ}^1$. 7. *ā*, rarely *ē*, for O.E. $\bar{æ}^2$. 8. *ĭ*, *ŭ*

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for O.E. *y̆*. 9. *e̊* (*ø̆*) for O.E. *e̊o*. 10. (a) *e* for O.E. *ea-i*; but (b) *ē*, *ī* for O.E. *ēa-i*. 11. *e̊*, *i̊* for O.E. *i̊o-i*. 12. *ey* for O.E. *ēag*, *ēah*.

This dialect shows alternative forms in a large number of points, as might be expected from its position as a border dialect. But on the whole it agrees with the City dialect in Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, 10 (a); and with the Middlex. dialect in Nos. 1, 3, 8, 9, 10 (b), 11. (City and Middlex. agree as regards Nos. 5 and probably 12.) All the alternative forms given in the Westm. complex can be traced to the influence either of the City or of the Middlex. dialect.

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III. THE LATER LONDON DIALECT

General Characteristics

§ **219.** By the term Later London Dialect is meant that type of English characteristic of London in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Unfortunately there are no English documents written in the London dialect available for the period before *c.* 1380. Davy's Dreams were composed as early as *c.* 1307; the language of the original was probably 13th c. rather than 14th c. English. The existing version, however, occurs in a 15th c. MS., and the language has been so modernized, that only the rhymes can be used as trustworthy evidence of the language at the time of composition.

From the last two decades of the 14th c. onward, the available sources for the London dialect are very plentiful (*v.* Bibliography, I. A.). These sources may be divided into three classes:

1. Official papers of all kinds—wills, gild returns, State letters, sermons, &c.

2. Literary works, both in prose (Caxton, &c.) and in verse (Chaucer, Hoccleve, &c.).

3. Private and semi-private papers, such as Gregory's Chronicle, and the Letters of London Correspondents used by Miss Kihlbom in her *Fifteenth Century English.*

§ **220.** An examination of the main dialect features of this material shows that it is no longer possible to distinguish between a City and a Middlex. dialect. A single dialect has been evolved, which reveals, on the whole, a blend of the old City and Middlex. features. Sometimes the City type has survived (e. g. *a* for O.E. *æ*), and sometimes the Middlex. type (*en* for O.E. *an-i*). Very rarely alternative forms occur—e. g. both the City *ĕ*-type and the Middlex. *ĭ*-type for O.E. *ȳ*. Occasionally, too, new features occur in the Later London

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dialect; these cannot have developed from either the City or the Middlex. type, but must have come in from some other area. Sometimes this new type has completely ousted the old —in the 15th c. only the unfractured *old*-type occurs, in place of the original City-Middlex. fracture form. Sometimes the new type is found side by side with the original—e. g. a new tense [ē] in words with O.E. ǣ¹ and ǣ² occurs, besides the slack [ɛ̄]-type characteristic of Middlex. The probable source of these new forms in Later London will be discussed separately in the next chapter (Chapter IV).

§ **221.** From the evidence of the comparatively few phonological tests discussed, it is difficult to distinguish differences of type in the London dialect at this time. Slack [ɛ̄] for ǣ¹ and ǣ² is rather more common in literary works than in official docs., for instance.

The possibility of a social distinction in dialect in London at this time has been suggested (Wyld, *Colloquial English*, p. 97; Kihlbom, *Fifteenth Century English*, p. 19). It is difficult to say anything definite on this problem. However, it is noticeable that in official documents of the middle classes (e. g. Wimbleton and Pet. Folk Merc.) *u* alternates with *i* in words with O.E. *y̆*, while in docs. connected with the upper classes (St. Barthol., Sustr. Men.) the alternative form is *e* rather than *u*.

1. O.E. *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal

§ **222.** In the Later London dialect the Middlex. *en*-type is established—*men, fen, send,* &c.

§ **223.** (a) A few traces of the old City-Essex *an*-type occur in documents of the late 14th c.:

pans, 1389 St. Kath. Gild, Chambers's Docs., p. 48; London Gilds, p. 7; *wantyd*, 'wended', 1387 Wimbleton, p. 2.

Flasdieck (*Frühzeit*, ii, p. 6) notes *panne(s)* from the London Wills, and *pans* also occurs in the Chaucer MSS. (Luick, § 363; Wild, § 45).

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(b) The *an*-spelling persists in the City Pl.-N. *Fancherche* throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and Heuser (p. 22) has noted *a*-forms as late as 1648. *Fen-*, however, is the more usual form at this time (e. g. Liber Cust. i). Other *en*-forms in City Pl.-Ns. are *Petreslanehende*, 1405 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Wendayeyneslane*, temp. Ed. III Hist. MSS. Comm. ix; *Wendegoslane*, early 14th c. Liber Cust. ii.

2. O.E. æ

§ **224.** There is no trace in docs. written in the Later London dialect of the Middlex. *e*-type from O.E. æ.

§ **225.** It has been shown that already in the E.M.E. period spellings with *a* in words with O.E. æ are more frequent than *e*-spellings in the more easterly Middlex. texts. (Trin. Homs., Cott. Westm. Ch.), and a few *a*-forms also occur in the more westerly Lamb. Homs., besides more common *e*.

From the early 13th c. onwards the Middlex. *e*-forms gradually give way before the City-Essex *a*-forms, till in Later London only the *a*-type is found—*at*, *appel*, *back*, &c.

§ **226.** Spellings with *e* in words with O.E. æ do occur in Later London docs., but these forms are not to be regarded as survivals of the Middlex. type, but are to be explained as due to:

1. Early Mod. Eng. raising of M.E. *a* to [æ]—*weshed*, 1494 Creation Duke of York, Lett. & Pprs. 393; *fest*, 1516 Magnyf. 2482.
2. Unstressed position of the word—*thet*, 1434 London Wills 102; *hevyng*, 1486 City Church Recs. 4.
3. Double forms in O.E.—*messe*, *then*, *when* (passim).
4. Norse parallel forms—*efter*, *gres*, *seck*.

3. O.E. *ear*

§ **227.** In the Later London dialect the City *ar*-type has completely ousted the Middlex. *er*-type.

§ **228.** Already in the E.M.E. period *ar*-forms occur almost

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as frequently as *er* in the Trin. Homs., but are less common in the Lamb. Homs. and Cott. Westm. Ch. Davy (*c.* 1307) has only *ar* (§ 47), and, from that time on, *ar* is the only form in London docs.

§ **229.** A few forms with *er* occur in 14th and 15th c. London docs., but these are not to be regarded as survivals of the Middlex. *er*-type.

1. *hervest* (Caxton), *merk* (Lekebusch's docs., Chaucer, Hoccleve), *ermen* (Chaucer), and *sperkel* (Caxton) are explained as mutated forms.
2. *yerd* (Wimbleton, Lond. Wills, Chaucer, &c.), *berd* (Chaucer, Caxton, Gregory), *fern* (Chaucer), *werned* (Chaucer), all go back to a M.E. form with lengthening of *ea* before *-rd* and *-rn*.

4. O.E. *æl* + cons. (unlengthened)

§ **230.** In the Later London docs. the vowel from O.E. *ea* before *l* + cons. (other than *ld*) is regularly *a* from the old City-Essex *al*-type—*halfe*, *al*, &c.

§ **231.** There is no trace of the Middlex. *e*-spelling in the Procl. Hen. III (1258) or in any Later Lond. doc. The initial front consonantal sound in *chalke*, *chauke*, &c., indicates that this word goes back to the O.E. fracture type *cealc*, with City-Essex retraction to *a* of *æ* from L.O.E. monophthonging of *ea*. In the Pl.-N. *Chelsey*, the Middlex. *e*-type has become fossilized.

5. O.E. *æl* + *d*

§ **232.** The unfractured type in words with O.E. *æ* + *ld* occurs almost without exception in the Later London documents: *cold*, *old*, *bold*, *hold*, &c.

§ **233.** There are only very slight traces of the original City and Middlex. fracture type. In Chaucer there are three rhymes which suggest that this writer still occasionally used the *eld*-type from O.E. fracture *eald*. These are:

held, Pres.—*welde*; *behelde*, Inf.—*elde*; *helde*, Pres. Pl.—*smelde*, Pret. Pl. (Wild, p. 342; Frieshammer, p. 34).

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§ **234.** Spellings with *eld*, &c., indicating original fracture, survive in Middlex. Pl.-Ns. till *c.* 1370:

Eldefolde, 1347 Gest. Abbat. St. Alb.; *Eldeford*, 1322 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; 1340 Cal. Pat. Rlls. 47; 1363 F. F.; *Eldestrete*, *-strate*, 1305 Mayors' Rlls.; 1312 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 11; *Hereveld*, 1310 F. F.; *le Weelde*, 1373 Cat. Ant. Dds. i.

§ **235.** An early unfractured form in *Coldesfeld*, 1252 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii (§ 80) has already been noted, and from the 14th c. onwards *old* is the prevailing spelling:

Oldeforde, *Olde Ford*, &c., 1310 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 46; 1313 Plac. Abbrev. 316; 1362 F. F.; 1376 Memor. Lond. 401; 1382, 1387, 1398, 1399 F. F.; 1412 (2) F. A. iv; *Waldis*, 1302 Cat. Ant. Dds. iii.

§ **236.** In City Pl.-Ns. *eld*-spellings persist later than in Middlex. Pl.-Ns., and are not uncommon in the earlier half of the fifteenth century:

Eldebowelane, *c.* 1320 Liber Cust.; *Eldechaunge*, 1316 Cal. Lond. Wills i; 1340 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 19; 1378 Cal. Lond. Wills ii; *Eldedeneslane*, *Eldeneslane*, &c., t. Hen. III–Ed. III Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 23; 1312 Memor. Lond.; 1332 Cal. Inq. P. M. vii; 1349 ib. ix; 1376 Cal. Lond. Wills ii; 1385 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 9; 1391 ib. 10; 1411, 1434, 1442 Cal. Lond. Wills ii; *Eldefishstrete*, *Heldefishstrete*, &c., 1305 Mayors' Rlls.; *c.* 1320 (3) Liber Cust.; 1361, 1376 Cal. Lond. Wills ii; *Eldynne*, 15th c. Gest. Abbat. St. Alb.; *Elde Jurie*, 1336 Cal. Lond. Wills i; *Eldemariechirch*, *c.* 1320 Liber Cust.

§ **237.** Spellings with *old* are, however, usual in City Pl.-Ns. from the 14th c.:

Coldhakker, *Colde Herberghe*, &c., 1307 Mayors' Rlls.; t. Ed. III Surrey Arch. Collections i. 208 (note); 1349 Cal. Lond. Wills ii (2); *Old Change*, t. Ed. III Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 24; *Oldefishstrate*, &c., 1320 Cal. Lond. Wills i; *c.* 1320 Liber Cust. (3); t. Ed. III Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 13; 1329, 1344, 1349, 1352, &c., Cal. Lond. Wills i; 1395 Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; *Oldewherye*, 1371 Memor. Lond.

§ **238.** Though *eld*-spellings persist in 14th and 15th c. Pl.-

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N. forms in the City and in Middlex., it is evident that the unfractured type was established in the spoken dialect by that time. If the *eld*-forms in Chaucer are genuine, as they very well may be, they indicate he was using for the sake of rhyme an old-fashioned (? City) pronunciation.

The probable source of the *old*-type in the Lond. dialect is discussed in the next chapter (Chapter IV).

6. O.E. ǣ[1]

§ 239. The early City-Essex *ā*-type disappeared from the spoken Lond. dialect before the 14th c., according to the documentary evidence. A few *a*-spellings occur in City Pl.-Ns. in the 14th c., but the prevailing form is *e*. I have collected over 250 *e*-forms in City Pl.-N. forms from 14th c. sources, but only about 40 *ā*-forms:

Bredestrate, &c., 1302, 1305, 1306, 1307 Mayors' Rlls.; *c.* 1320 Liber Cust. i; 1334 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Bregestrate*, &c., 1302, 1305 Mayors' Rlls.; 1380 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Candylwykestrate*, &c., 1301 Mayors' Rlls.; 1301 St. Paul's Doomsd. (2); 1301 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii (2); 1302, 1305 Mayors' Rlls.; 1307 St. Paul's Doomsd. (2); 1307 Hosp. of St. Thom. (2); 1310 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; 1315 St. Paul's Doomsd. (2); 1322, 1324, 1352 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Colman Strate*, &c., 1306 Lett. Bks. C; 1308 Cat. Ant. Dds. iv; 1317 Hist. MSS. Comm. ix. 28; *Graschirchstrate*, 1302 Mayors' Rlls.; *Lymstrate*, 1305 ib.; 1309 Cal. Inq. P. M. xi; *Milkstrate*, 1300 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Tamysestrate*, &c., 1301 Lett. Bks. C (2); 1366, 1382 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Wodestrate*, 1302 Mayors' Rlls.; 1311 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i.

§ 240. A few *ā*-forms occur in Middlex. Pl.-Ns. of the 14th c., but these places all lie in the extreme east of Middlex. (cf. earlier *ā*-forms, § 100):

Chapelstrate (Stepney), 1316 Cat. Ant. Dds. vi; 1318 ib. i; *Clerkenewellestrate*, 1323 ib. ii; *Crucestrate* (Willesden), 1321 ib. iv; *Heyebreggestrate* (near Essex), 1329 ib. i; *Southlangemad* (Stepney), 1322 ib. i; *Wytecruchestrate*, 1301 ib. v.

§ 241. There appears to be no record of any *ā*-spellings of either City or Middlex. Pl.-N. forms in 15th c. documents.

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§ 242. The evidence of rhymes and of shortened forms in Later London documents indicates that the vowel derived from O.E. ǣ¹ could be either tense [ē] or slack [ɛ̄] in the London dialect of this period.

§ 243. There are considerable traces of the Middlex. [ɛ̄]-type in late fourteenth- and in fifteenth-century documents. The usual spelling of the long vowel from O.E. ǣ¹ is *e* or *ee*, which gives no indication whether the quality was slack or tense. Spellings with *ea* do not occur.

§ 244. Shortened forms with *a* in official docs., literary works, and private papers indicate the [ɛ̄]-type:

Official:

Chambers's Docs. (1384): *lat*, 28.
Petition Folk Merc. (1386): *adradde*, 233; *dradde*, 234.
Wimbleton (1387): *drad*, 21.
London Gilds (1389): *lat*, 10.
St. Barthol. (1400): *drade*, 14; *lat*, 7; *late*, 61.
Bekyn.: *late* (1442), 80, 85; *latting* (1442), 78.
Marg. of Anjou: *late* (1445), 126; *latting* (1442), 110.
Lett. & Pprs.: *late* (1484), xxii/62; xxv/77; xxvi/80; *lating* (1484), xxv/73; *latting* (1483), ii/13, 14; xv/48; (1484), xxv/76, 77, 78; *laten* (1484), xxvi/79, 80.
Pollard Docs.: *wapyns* (1493), ii/197.

Literary:

Chaucer: *bladdre; dradde; naddre; rad.* Wild, pp. 114–15.
Hoccleve: *adrad*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/311; Regem. of Pr. iii/69; *drad*, Regem. of Pr. iii/1243; *lat*, Min. Pms. iii, i/385, 417; *rad*, Min. Pms. xxiii, i/925; *radde*, Regem. of Pr. iii/2955.
Caxton: *dradde*, Jas. 1, 2; *late*, ib. 22, 31, 41, 45; Dialog. 5, 27.

Private:

Gregory: *dradde*, 209; *late*, 63; *radde*, 165, 166, 230, 231; *raddyn*, 166.

§ 245. In rhyming texts, the slack quality of the vowel from O.E. ǣ¹ is indicated by rhymes with words having M.E. un-

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doubted slack [ɛ̄] from O.E. *ēa* and short *e* lengthened in open syllables. Examples of such rhymes are:

Chaucer: *breth* (8); *dede*, 'deed' (19); *drede* (14); *eve* (13); *fere* (9); *greve* (5); *her*, 'hair' (9); *lete* (1); *mede*, 'meadow' (6); *red*, 'advice' (16); *rede* (5); *sed*, 'seed' (1); *slepe* (4); *strete* (3); *there* (17); *thred* (2); *were* (23); *wete* (2); *where* (8); *yer* (8). Langhans, Anglia 45, pp. 221 ff.

Gower (Confessio Amantis): *bede*, 'they begged' (1); *breth* (11); *dede* (1); *drede* (1); *fere*, 'fear' (9); *her*, 'hair' (1); *lette* (1); *rede* (15); *slepe* (1); *strete* (4); *there* (18); *were* (16); *where* (6) Fahrenberg, pp. 395, 396.

Hoccleve: *breeth—deeth*, Min. Pms. xxiii, i/67; ib. xxiv, i/138; *breth—deth*, Regem. of Pr. iii/2629; *deed—heed*, 'head', ib. iii/2266; *drede—dede*, 'dead', Min. Pms. xxiii, i/130; *drede—schede*, ib. xxiii, i/641; Regem. of Pr. iii/4808; *dredeþ—schedeþ*, ib. iii/270; *eve—leve*, 'leaf', ib. iii/4065; *lete—grete*, 'great', Min. Pms. xxiii, i/788; *reed—deed*, 'dead', Regem. of Pr. iii/3155, 4866; *reed—heed*, 'head', Min. Pms. xxiv, i/519; Regem. of Pr. iii/198, 2266; *reed—leed*, 'lead', ib. iii/3883; *seed—deed*, 'dead', ib. iii/604, 660; *seed—heed*, 'head', ib. iii/198; *there—ere*, 'ear', Min. Pms. xxiv, i/168.

§ 246. Besides the old Middlex. [ɛ̄]-type for O.E. *æ¹*, the Later London dialect had a tense [ē] as well. The probable source of this new type is discussed later. Rhyme is the best evidence of the tense quality, for shortened forms with *e* are open to the criticism that they are new formations on the analogy of the corresponding long *e*—whether [ē] or [ɛ̄]. One spelling with *ie*, indicating the tense type, has been noted: *indied*, Lett. & Pprs., Creation Duke York 1494, p. 391.

§ 247. Shortened forms with *e* are:

Official:

Chambers's Docs. (1384): *ylet*, 32.
Wimbleton (1387): *lette*, 2.
St. Barthol. (1400): *dred*, 6; *lette*, 17, 19, 21, 22, 27, 38 (3), 39 (6), 44, 53, 55; *lettyng*, 16, 47; *redde*, 7, 47; *undredfully*, 55.

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Sustr. Men. (1450): *lette*, 86, 87 (2); *letting*, 102; *redde*, 93, 94, 96 (2), 100 (2), 102, 104, 105, 112, 116.
Marg. of Anjou: *lettyng* (1446), 111.
Lett. & Pprs.: *let* (1484), xxvii/84; *redde* (1501), Appendix, 414.

Literary:

Chaucer: *dredde; lett; red.* Wild, pp. 114–18.
Hoccleve: *dredden*, Cupid ii/269; *dreddist*, ib. ii/422; *let*, Min. Pms. ii, i/104, 137, 139; ib. iii, i/244; *lettyng*, ib. iii, i/174; *red*, ib. iii, i/226; *redde*, ib. iii, i/105, 286; *redden*, ib. iii, i/91.
Caxton: *dredde*, Jas. 23; *red*, ib. 3 (2); *redde*, ib. 131.

§ 248. London poets frequently rhyme *ē* from *æ*^{1} with M.E. tense [ē] from O.E. *ē* and *ēo*:

Chaucer: *bere*, 'bier' (9); *brede*, 'breadth' (1); *dede*, 'deed' (12); *drede* (39); *et*, 'ate' (2); *eve* (2); *leche* (5); *lete* (1); *mete*' noun (1); *mete*, verb (4); *set* (2); *shep* (3); *slepe* (20); *slep* (20); *speche* (40); *strete* (7); *there* (2); *were* (5); *wete* (1); *ye*, 'yea' (1); *yer* (12). Langhans, Anglia 45.

Gower: *dede* (15); *drede* (3); *leche* (1); *mete*, verb (4); *rede* (14); *slepe* (29); *speche* (27); *strete* (1); *þrede* (1); *were* (1). Fahrenberg, p. 395.

Hoccleve: *deed(e)—gleede*, Min. Pms. iii, i/157;—*forbede*, Regem. of Pr. iii/2480;—*meede*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/436; *dede—nede*, ib. xxiii, i/447; Regem. of Pr. iii/2951; *dreede—gleede*, Min. Pms. iii, i/157;—*forbede*, Regem. of Pr. iii/2480, 5365;—*nede*, Cupid ii/213;—*mede*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/436; Regem. of Pr. iii/3159;—*neede*, Min. Pms. xxiii, i/526, 688; Regem. of Pr. iii/644, 1019, 4177;—*speede*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/310; ib. xxiii, i/834; *leeche—seeche*, ib. xxiv, i/512; *leche—seche*, Regem. of Pr. iii/639; *rede—nede*, Cupid ii/91; *slepe—deepe*, ib. ii/857, 4330;—*kepe*, Min. Pms. iii, i/240; ib. xxiii, i/878; Regem. of Pr. iii/2146, 4095; *sleepiþ—weepiþ*, ib. iii/2434; *speche—byseche*, ib. iii/750, 1705; *speche—seche*, ib. iii/639; *street—feet*, ib. iii/534; *þere—fere*, ib. iii/3165; *weet—feet*, ib. iii/536.

§ 249. Summary.

(1) The City-Essex *ā*-type from O.E. *æ*^{1} has disappeared from the spoken dialect of Later London, but a few *a*-spellings

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survive in 14th c. City Pl.-N. forms, and Middlex. Pl.-N. forms from the extreme east of the county.

(2) Later London has both [ɛ̄] and [ē] for O.E. ǣ¹.

(3) Slack [ɛ̄] is the original Middlex. type, and its survival is shown (a) by shortened forms with *a*, and (b) by rhymes of *e* from ǣ¹ with undoubted slack [ɛ̄] from O.E. *ēa* and short *e* lengthened in open syllables.

(4) Tense [ē] is a new feature in the London dialect. How and from where it found its way into London is discussed in Chapter IV. Its existence in the London dialect is shown by the frequency of rhymes of *e* from O.E. ǣ¹ with tense [ē] from O.E. *ē*, *ēo* in Chaucer and Hoccleve.

(5) According to the evidence of rhymes, tense [ē] is commoner than slack [ɛ̄] in the Later London dialect.

7. O.E. ǣ²

§ **250.** There is no trace in Later London of the City-Essex *ā*-type in words with O.E. ǣ².

§ **251.** The Middlex. [ɛ̄]-type is indicated by (a) shortened *a*-forms, (b) by rhymes with M.E. undoubted slack [ɛ̄].

Shortened *a*-forms occur in official, literary, and private papers.

Official:

Chambers's Docs.: *ylad* (1384), 33; *lasse* (1389), 43.
Wimbleton (1387): *lad*, 9, 11.
London Gilds (1389): *lasse*, 10.
London Wills: *lasse* (1434), 101.
Sustr. Men. (1450): *lasse*, 113 (2), 115.
Lett. & Pprs.: *lade* (1494), Creation Duke York, 400 (4); *spradde* (1502), Henry VII, Ellis I i 59.

Literary:

Chaucer: *ladde; lafte; lasse; laste; sprad.* Wild, pp. 120, 125.
Hoccleve: *dalt*, Regem. of Pr. iii/4331; *lad*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/526; *lasse*, Cupid ii/456; *spradde*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/376.

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Caxton: *ladd*, Jas. 11, 79; *lasse*, ib. 83, 92, 171; *lassed*, ib. 39; *sprad*, ib. 170.
Jul. Berners: *lasse*, 16.

Private:

London Correspondents: *dalt; hallthe.* Kihlbom, pp. 65, 66.
Gregory: *ladde*, 58, 96, 167, 227; *lade*, 175; *lasse*, 83, 106, 238; *praty*, 205.

§ **252.** A few spellings of *ea* for [ɛ̄] from O.E. ǣ³ have been noted:

Lett. & Pprs.: *deale* (1484), xxiv/69; xxv/76.
Pollard's Docs.: *dealyng* (1485), ii/59.

§ **253.** The vowel *e* from O.E. ǣ² rhymes with M.E. slack [ɛ̄] (>O.E. *ēa* and short *e* lengthened):

Chaucer: *clene* (3); *geth*, 'he goes' (1); *hele* (2); *hete*, noun (8); *lede* (5); *lene* (3); *leve* (14); *mene* (4); *meste* (1); *sprede* (5); *swete*, 'sweat' (3); *whete* (1). Langhans, Anglia 45.
Gower: *er* (1); *geth* (5); *lede* (1); *leve* (1); *les* (3).
Hoccleve: *hete—grete*, Min. Pms. xxiii, i/789; *leue—reue*, ib. ii, i/168; *ledeþ—schedeþ*, Regem. of Pr. iii/268.

§ **254.** The existence of the tense [ē]-type for O.E. ǣ² in the London dialect of this period has been doubted. A certain number of rhymes with M.E tense *ē* from O.E. *ē*, *ēo* occur. Shortened forms with *e* are common, but they do not necessarily indicate the existence of the tense type. However, these *e*-forms are here given for the sake of completeness.

Official:

Wimbleton (1387): *led*, 14.
St. Barthol. (1400): *clense*, 46; *clensyn*, 32; *clensyng(e)*, 12 (2), 13, 41; *clennes*, 47, 48 (2), 57; *vnclennesse*, 49, 50; *ledde*, 2, 26, 27.
London Wills: *delt* (1431), 88; (1436), 105; *led* (1387), 2.
Sustr. Men. (1450): *i-spred*, 84, 85.
Lett. & Pprs.: *ledde* (1501), 415.

Literary:

Chaucer: *ledde; lefte; lesse; spred.* Wild, pp. 120–5.
Hoccleve: *led*, Min. Pms. iii, i/228; *lefte*, Cupid ii/443.

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Caxton: *ledde*, Jas. 98; *lesse*, ib. 176; *spredde*, ib. 72.
Jul. Berners: *lesse*, 18.

Private:

London Correspondents: *lente; lefte; les(se); helth.* Kihlbom, pp. 65, 66.
Gregory: *lede*, Past Part., 120.

§ 255. Rhymes of *ē* from O.E. *ǣ²* with M.E. tense *ē* are:

Chaucer: *clene* (2); *del* (3); *hete*, verb (6); *lene* (1); *lere* (18); *mene* (4); *se*, 'sea' (22); *teche* (1). Langhans, Anglia 45.
Gower: *areche* (1); *clene* (5); *dele* (10); *ever* (5); *hete* (3); *lere* (12); *mene* (33); *sprede* (3); *teche* (15). Fahrenberg, p. 395.
Hoccleve: *dele—wele*, Min. Pms. ii, i/154; ib. iii, i/153, 248; ib. xxiii, i/723; ib. xxiv, i/136; Regem. of Pr. iii/150, 599, 1215, 2217, 4615; *dele—stele*, Cupid ii/52; *leere—heer*, Min. Pms. xxiii, i/841; *mene—quene*, Regem. of Pr. iii/4983; *see—be*, Min. Pms. ii, i/500; ib. xxiii, i/202; *—he*, Regem. of Pr. iii/2249; *—see*, Min. Pms. iii, i/236.

§ 256. Summary.

(1) The City-Essex *ā*-type in words with O.E. *ǣ²* has disappeared in the Later London dialect.

(2) Later London has both [ɛ̄] and [ē] for O.E. *ǣ²*.

(3) The original Middlex. slack [ɛ̄] is the commoner form. Its existence is shown by (a) shortened forms with *a*, (b) rhymes of *ē* from *ǣ²* with M.E. undoubted slack [ɛ̄] from O.E. *ēa* and short *e* lengthened in open syllables, and occasionally (c) by *ea*-spellings of the unshortened vowel.

(4) A fair number of rhymes of *ē* from *ǣ²* with M.E. tense *ē* (>O.E. *ē*, *ēo*) in Chaucer, Hoccleve, &c., indicates that the tense *ē* for O.E. *ǣ²*, a feature new to the London dialect, has found its way in. (See Chapter IV.)

8. The O.E. *sel*-group

§ 257. In the later period, forms like *seggen*, *suggen*, &c., do not seem to occur in the London docs.

§ 258. The southern form *sill*, 'sell', however, still occurs

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occasionally. St. Barthol. has *sylle*, 47 ; Lekebusch has noted the forms *sille* (twice) and *sillin* in his sources (p. 25). Gregory still has *sylle*, 231, 238. Otherwise only *sell*, *selle* appear in the late 14th and 15th c. sources.

§ **259.** The form *silfe*, &c., may be due, as Jordan thought (§ 68, Anm.), to the raising of *e* to *i* before or after certain consonants (cf. also Jordan, § 34). On the other hand, *silf*, &c., is not common at this time in those provincial texts which have regular raising of *e* to *i*, but the form does occur with some frequency in the London docs., where *e* is not as a rule raised to *i*.

§ **260.** The chief instances of *silf*(*e*) in 15th c. London sources occur in Pollard's Docs. ii/45 (letter of Hen. VII, 1492), Lett. & Pprs. 110 (1497), ib. 416 (1501), Caxton, Jas. 11, 164 (cf. Römstedt, p. 12), Gregory 172, 184, 212. Lekebusch has noted seven examples of *silf*(*e*) in his sources (p. 28).

9. O.E. *y̆*

§ **261.** O.E. *y̆* appears as *e*, *i*, and *u* in the docs. of the Later London dialect, though the *i*-type predominates. The *e*-forms go back to the old City-Essex type (§ 131). The large number of *i*-forms are not due to influence from Anglian dialects (e. g. of Norfolk), or to a late (14th c.) process of unrounding of *y̆*, as has been suggested. This *ĭ* is the original Middlex. type, for in this dialect, as has already been shown, O.E. *y̆* was retained as a rounded vowel till L.O.E., and then underwent a process of gradual unrounding to *i*. This process began in the east, probably in the late 10th c., and gradually progressed westward during the latest O.E. and early M.E. periods (§§ 143–55).

The real problem is not to account for the *i*-forms, but to explain the *u*-forms in Later London. The survival of City *e*- and Middlex. *i*-forms in 14th and 15th c. docs. will first be discussed, and then the history of the *u*-type in the London dialect during this period will be examined.

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(A) The *e*-forms.

§ **262.** Spellings of *e* in words with O.E. *ў* are not uncommon. It is probable that many *e*-forms do not genuinely represent the City type (*ў* < *ĕ*), but are due to a lowering of *i* to *e* in closed syllables, a development characteristic of the east. Still, it is difficult to say whether the *e* in words with O.E. *ў* is primary or secondary. Yet there is some reason for believing that the *e* in London docs. may represent the genuine City development from *ў*. It has been shown that in City Pl.-N. forms of the 12th and 13th c. the number of *e*-forms is greater than both *i* and *u* taken together (§ 131). The same is true for the 14th c., though the proportion of *i*- and *u*-forms has increased. The figures for the 14th c. are:

e	*i*	*u*
172	99	65

Since *e* prevails in Pl.-N. forms till the end of the 14th c., the suggestion is that in the later spoken dialect considerable traces of the old City type may reasonably be expected.

§ **263.** Forms with *e* occur in all types of Lond. docs. They are specially characteristic of the English of educated scribes (St. Barthol., Sustr. Men.), of literary writers (Chaucer, Caxton), and of private persons, and may indicate a certain degree of conservatism in pronunciation.

Official:

Chambers's Docs. (1384): *euel*, 26, 28, 29, 30; *ferst*, 26, 27; *stered*, 28, 31.

Wimbleton (1387): *lefte*, 4; *lestyn*, 10; *schet*, 19; *sterid*, 6.

London Gilds (1389): *beried*, 10; *werche*, 9.

St. Barthol. (1400): *Cawntirbery*, 34, 35; *besy*, 21, 36; *besily*, 3, 9, 19, 24; *besyly*, 36; *besynes(se)*, 2, 3, 8, 10; *depid*, 20; *evil*, 14, 47 (2); *evillis*, 9; *evyllis*, 38; *evyl*, 54; *kechyn*, 21; *leyfte*, 29; *mery*, 43; *schete*, 20; *sterynge*, 25; *sterid*, 9, 13. *unkende*, 45.

London Wills: *beriell* (1434), 96; *beryyng* (1434), 101; *beried* (1428), 81, 84; (1434), 101; *beryed* (1410), 16; (1426), 67;

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(1432), 92; (1433), 93; (1434), 96; (1436), 104; *fulfelle* (1408), 14; *fulfeld* (1428), 78; *ferst* (1410), 16, 17; (1426), 67; (1430), 84, 86; *kechyn* (1387), 2; (1428), 78; (1436), 107; *pelewes* (1434), 101.

mende (1408), 14; (1430), 85.

Sustr. Men. (1450): *besili*, 93; *besily*, 94; *gerdellis*, 84, 85; *lefte*, 108; *schet(te)*, 91 (3), 92 (2); *stere*, 93; *penkinge*, 98.

Marg. of Anjou: *besinesse* (1445), 127; *stering* (1450), 163.

City Church Recs.: *besynes(s)* (1486), 8; *evyll* (1486), 3.

Lett. & Ppers.: *Cauntirbery* (1501), Reception Cath. 412, 417; *Cauntreberys*, ib. 405; *evyll* (1483), xv/52; *Cornell* (1501), Reception Cath. 411; *Westmestre* (1483), i/6; *Westmester* (1494), Creation Duke York 394, 397; *shertes* (1483), i/3; (1484), xxv/73; *shertt* (1494), Creation Duke York 390, 391.

Pollard's Docs.: *beried* (1489), ii/235; *besyest* (1507), ii/207; *besyness* (1495), ii/177; *besinesses* (1503), ii/107; *evel* (1485), i/19; *evill* (1499), ii/61; *geltie* (1495), ii/174; *kechiners* (1494), ii/64; *steryng* (1485), i/19; *steringes* (1507), ii/208; *stered* (1486), i/42.

Literary:

Chaucer: *ken; senne; thenne*, 'thin'; *dent; stent; ferst; mery; berye; felle; melle; knette; shette; kesse; lest; lesten; bregge; sterye; besy; rese.* Wild, pp. 49–68.

beȝe; fest; keen; kethe; fer. Wild, p. 74.

Gower: *ken; kesse; keste; lest; leste; lefte; senne; abegge; hell; knet; unknet; ferst; shette; sherte; stent.* Fahrenberg, p. 392.

kende (2); *mend* (5); *mende—ende* (3); *mende—wende; lere.* Fahrenberg, pp. 392, 393; *fere—yere; hed—bed; hid—fled*, ib. p. 397.

Hoccleve: *berie*, Regem. of Pr. iii/4716; *beried*, ib. iii/882; *besy*, ib. iii/240, 270, 2414, 3688; *besieth*, ib. iii/4441, 4497, 5041; *abregge*, ib. iii/217; *euel*, Min. Pms. iii, i/16; ib. xxiii, i/538; *euele*, ib. xxiii, i/722; ib. xxiv, i/61; Regem. of Pr. iii/4170; *euyl*, ib. iii/2891; *leste—beste*, Min. Pms. iii, i/107; Regem. of Pr. iii/154, 176; *lyst—best*, ib. iii/4897; *merye—herie*, ib. iii/1476; *merie*, Min. Pms. xxiii, i/294; *mery*, Regem. of Pr. iii/847; *merye*, ib. iii/4716; *merthe*, Min. Pms. iii, i/335;

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resshes, Regem. of Pr. iii/2583; *shette—sette*, ib. iii/25, 57, 171, 1573; *shet*, ib. iii/3792.

bespet—bet, ib. iii/130; *stere*, ib. iii/4903; *sterid*, ib. iii/2832; *asterte—herte*, Min. Pms. i/258; Cupid ii/38; *thenkeþ*, ib. ii/2908.

themel, Regem. of Pr. iii/682.

Caxton: *abregge*, Jas. 42; *besely*, ib. 31; *besines*, ib. 96; *besynes*, ib. 188; *euyll*, ib. 9; Dialog. 11, 15; *euill*, Jas. 179; *euyl*, ib. 12, 14, 26, 30, 32, 35, 38 (2), 39, 47; *knetted*, ib. 174; *mery*, ib. 158; *pelowes*, Dialog. 8; *chertes*, ib. 8; *shertes*, ib. 42; *sherte*, Jas. 131, 132; *shette*, ib. 92, 134, 166; Dialog. 50; *sterte*, Jas. 29, 33, 39; *thenke*, ib. 15, 17 (2), 18, 20, 25 (2), 26, 32, 36, 43 (2), 48; *thrested*, ib. 39.

kene, Römstedt, p. 20.

Jul. Berners: *besye*, 23; *euyll*, 3, 16; *merier*, 4; *mery*, 1, 2 (4), 3 (2), 4.

Private:

London Correspondents: *stere; brech(e); ffernyeres; mery; besynes; fest.* Kihlbom, pp. 11, 12, 27.

Gregory: *beryd*, 58, 88, 95, 101, 107, 124, 233; *berryd*, 61; *besely*, 213; *besÿd*, 216; *evyl*, 99; *evylle*, 119, 198; *lefte*, 113; *mery*, 219; *merely*, 112, 219; *steryd*, 85; *stertyngys*, 68.

(B) The *i*-forms.

§ 264. The Middlex. *i*-type is found in all classes of English documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and is far commoner than either *e* or *u*.

Official:

Chambers's Docs. (1384–9): *bysy*, 30; *bisied*, 31; *first*, 41 (2), 45; *giltif*, 26; *king*, 32; *kyng*, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31 (2), 32, 33 (2), 41, 46; *kyng(g)es*, 28 (2), 31, 32 (2); *stired*, 29; *thynketh*, 31.

hith, 45; *hyth*, 44; *kyde*, 27; *litel*, 26.

Petition Folk Merc. (1386): *kyng*, 232, 233, 234 (4), 236 (3); *kynges*, 233, 234; *Westmystre*, 236.

hidde, 234; *yhidde*, 236; *hidynges*, 233; *mynde*, 234.

Wimbleton (1387): *vnbiryd*, 21; *byrþe*, 27; *bysinesse*, 15; *fulfyld*, 15, 16; *fulfyllyd*, 27, 31; *first*, 24, 25, 28, 30; *ouergyld*, 18; *gylty*, 32; *hyl*, 15; *hillys*, 25; *kyngdom*, 1; *kyng*, 11; *kynggs*, 10; *kytte*, 2; *rygge*, 11; *schyt*, 31 (3); *synne*, 5, 7, 14; *synnes*, 25; *synnys*, 2, 10; *synnyn*, 7.

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fyer, 31; *fier*, 32; *fyre*, 9, 10; *hid*, 24; *kynde*, 1, 2, 17; *kyndly*, 24; *litil*, 13; *lityl*, 17; *lytyl*, 24; *lytul*, 29; *mȳde*, 13; *pryde*, 7, 15, 20.

London Gilds (1389): *ffirst*, 3; *kyng*, 4 (2); *kisse*, 9.

fyr, 6, 9.

St. Barthol. (1400): *birth*, 23 (2), 49; *bisy*, 31, 40; *bisily*, 62; *bysyly*, 40; *bysynes*, 55; *fulfille*, 4, 9 (2), 13, 16, 17, 25, 26, 43, 44, 49, 50, 55, 60; *fyrst*, 1 (2), 8, 9, 10, 23, 29, 30, 31, 33, 48 (2), 49 (2); *gilty*, 56, 57; *hillys*, 46; *kychyne*, 28; *kyn*, 12, 40; *kyng*, 2 (2), 3 (2), 4, 5, 7, 9 (3), 10 (5), 11 (6), 15 (2), 16, 17, 21, 32 (2), 33, 39 (2), 41, 48, 53, 56, 57, 58; *kys*, 59; *kysse*, 47; *knytte*, 48, 62; *kyt*, 42; *lyfte*, 22, 35; *Westmynster*, 47; *myrthe*, 31; *pytte*, 5 (2), 9; *pitte*, 7; *pittes*, 13; *synnes*, *synnys*, 3 (2), 4 (2), 5, 7, 9, 13, 15, 18 (2), 32, 33, 39 (3), 41, 44, 52, 55 (3), 57 (4); *skyrtis*, 37.

bye, 25, 36; *bylynge*, 'building', 6, 14, 32, 35; *bilde(d)*, 6, 12; *bylid*, 12 (2), 13, 14, 16, 24, 32; *Cripilgate*, 24; *drye(d)*, 12, 28 (2), 31, 36, 45; *fylthe*, 30; *fyre*, 7, 8, 21 (3); *fyer*, 62 (3), 63 (3); *fyste*, 37; *hyde*, 13, 22, 29; *hydde*, 6, 8 (2), 9, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 29, 32, 54 (2); *hyryd*, 24, 29, 57; *kynd*, 8 (2), 25, 36, 38, 39, 48, 62; *litill*, 4 (2), 9, 10, 13, 17 (2), 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 34 (2), 36, 38, 39, 40, 45 (2), 46 (2), 47, 48, 50, 58, 59 (2), 60 (2), 61; *mynde*, 3 (2), 6, 8, 17, 20, 31, 39, 43, 46, 54, 56, 57; *pride*, 7; *ynpridid*, 2.

London Wills: *byryng* (1439), 115; *byret* (1413), 21; *byried* (1430), 85; *byryid* (1430), 86; *brygge*, *brigge* (1430), 85; *fulfill(e)* (1419), 42; (1431), 89; (1436), 107; *fulfilled* (1431), 88; (1439), 115; *fulfillid* (1420), 79; *fulfyllyd* (1426), 67; *fulfyllyt* (1413), 22; *first* (1428), 77, 81; (1431), 87, 88; (1434), 101; (1439), 113; *fyrst* (1413), 21; (1434), 96; *ffyrst* (1433), 93; *gilt* (1434), 102 (4); (1436), 108; *gylt* (1428), 82; *gyrdyll* (1419), 42; *kynge* (1387), 1; *kyrtell* (1434), 97; *synne* (1430), 86.

Garlekhithe (1428), 82; *kyndely* (1431), 89; (1436), 107; *litell* (1434), 101; *litil* (1434), 101 (4), 102 (4); *mynde* (1408), 15 (2); (1426), 67; (1428), 77, 81, 82 (2); (1430), 84; (1432), 92; (1433), 93; (1434), 96, 101; (1436), 104; (1439), 112; *mynd* (1436), 103, 106.

Sustr. Men. (1450): *Caunterbiri*, 107, 113; *byriyd*, 83; *bisili*, 83, 88; *bysili*, 82, 89, 92, 93; *bysines*, 81; *fulfillid*, 83, 91, 116; *first*, 86, 88, 90, 92, 96 (2), 102, 103 (2), 107, 108, 110 (4), 112 (2),

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113 (6), 115 (3), 116; *kinge*, *kynge*, 81 (3), 84, 89 (2); *kyn*, 99; *minster*, 81 (3), 87, 88 (3), 90; *sinnis*, 88.

fyre, 82, 108; *litel*, 102 (2); *prides*, 83; *ymber*, 112, 116.

Ellis: *birthe*, Henry VI (1443), III i 79.

Bekynton: *fulfille* (1442), 84.

litell (1442), 81.

Marg. of Anjou: *gilt* (1445), 127.

City Church Recs.: *ffirst* (1486), 4; *hill* (1486), 2; *kynges* (1486), 3.

byldyd (1486), 3; *bielded* (1486), 5; *mynde* (1486), 4.

Lett. & Pprs.: *brigge* (1483), i/7; *first* (1483), i/4 (3), 5, 8, 10; ii/11 (2), 12; iv/18; xiii/45, 46; xv/48; (1484), xxvii/82; (1497), vii/104; *gilt* (1483), i/6; *gyrdils* (1494), Creation Duke York 391; *hille* (1501), Reception Cath. 412 (2), 416; *kynne* (1486), i/92; *kynnesmen* (1484), xxiv/68; *king* (1483), i/3; *kyng* (1494), Creation Duke York 388; *kyst* (1494), ib. 390; *lifft*, 'left' (1494), ib. 391, 393; *milnes* (1484), xxvii/84; *mynt* (1483), xiii/45 (2); *Westminster* (1501), Reception Cath. 404, 405 (6), 416 (8); *Westmynstre* (1494), Creation Duke York 396, 399 (2).

Lamhithe (1501), Reception Cath. 409 (2); *kyen* (1484), xxvi/80; *kindenesse* (1484), xxv/73; *litille* (1484), xxvi/79; *litell* (1494), Creation Duke York 405, 411; *lytill* (1494), ib. 391, 399; *mynde* (1483), ii/12, 16; iv/18, 19; (1484), xv/50; xvii/53 (4); xxii/61; xxv/73, 74; (1497), vii/105 (3), 108, 110 (3), 111 (2).

Pollard's Docs.: *brige* (1503), ii/96; *brigge* (1504), ii/263; *first* (1503), ii/90; *gylte* (1504), ii/75; *gilty* (1503), ii/98; *kychener* (1494), ii/61; *kyng* (1485), ii/9; *synner* (1489), ii/236.

bye (1495), ii/248; *by* (1495), ii/38; *bilded* (1485), ii/59; *byldyd* (1489), ii/236; *fyre* (1486), i/42; *fire* (1487), i/68; *kynd* (1487), i/51; *kyndnes* (1487), i/51; *litell* (1487), ii/55; *litill* (1485), i/21; *mynd* (1489), i/71.

Literary:

Chaucer: *kin; synne; thynne; stint; kirtel; gilte; pilwe; fille; kille; hille; knytte; flitte; kitte; kisse; liste; lifte; bisy.* Wild, pp. 47–67.

pride; hyde; kyte; hire; hyue; fir. Wild, p. 74.

Gower: *beclipte; clippe; fulfille; fille; gilte; thinne; kinne; kisse; kisseth; kiste; list; liste; uplifte; pit; sinne.* Fahrenberg, p. 392.

mind (5). Fahrenberg, p. 393.

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Hoccleve: *biried*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/125; *birien*, Regem. of Pr. iii/3833; *birth*, ib. iii/3517; *bisy*, Min. Pms. iii, i/460; ib. iii, i/25; Regem. of Pr. iii/1346; *bisily*, ib. iii/1095, 1553, 5399; *bisyly*, Min. Pms. xxiii, i/127; Cupid ii/4; *bysily*, Regem. of Pr. iii/15, 760; *bysyly*, Min. Pms. xxiii, i/88; ib. xxiv, i/289; *bysynesse*, ib. ii, i/451; ib. xxiii, i/278; Regem. of Pr. iii/1010, 3058; *bisynesse*, Min. Pms. ii, i/220; Regem. of Pr. iii/1; *bysieth*, ib. iii/3041; *brigge*, Min. Pms. ii, i/190, 194; *brygelees*, ib. ii, i/164; *Cambrigge*, Regem. of Pr. iii/5273; *dynt*, ib. iii/5235; *Iuel*, ib. iii/3036; *fulfille—stille*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/538; *fulfille*, ib. ii, i/296; *ffulfille*, Regem. of Pr. iii/2505; *fulfilled*, Cupid ii/150, 301, 470; *fille*, Min. Pms. ii, i/72; *first*, ib. ii, i/182; ib. iii, i/383, 448; ib. xxiii, i/23; xxiv, i/41; Regem. of Pr. iii/167, 389, 394, 753, 757, 799, 1326, 1332, 1397, 1451, 1576, 1676, 1769; Cupid ii/351, 369; *gilt*, Min. Pms. ii, i/75; ib. xxiv, i/630; Regem. of Pr. iii/2511; Cupid ii/375; *girdil*, ib. ii/413; *kynne—inne*, ib. ii/5253; *kyn*, ib. ii/2; *kyng*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/350; Regem. of Pr. iii/816; *kynges*, Min. Pms. ii, i/312; Regem. of Pr. iii/4631; Cupid ii/85; *kisse*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/371; *kist*, Regem. of Pr. iii/2064; *kyste*, ib. iii/3436; *knyt*, Min. Pms. ii, i/22; ib. iii, i/22, 343; *knytte*, Regem. of Pr. iii/343, 995, 2168; *lift*, ib. iii/5056; *lyste—wyste*, ib. iii/350; Cupid ii/406; *list*, Min. Pms. ii, i/34, 186, 201, 206, 262, 467; ib. iii, i/84, 120, 233; ib. xxiv, i/35; Cupid ii/27, 138, 189, 238, 242, 277; *liste*, Regem. of Pr. iii/191; *lyst*, ib. iii/18; *mylle—stylle*, ib. iii/171; *Westmynstre*, Min. Pms. iii, i/178; *miri*, ib. iii, i/237; *miry*, ib. ii, i/487; *mirier*, Regem. of Pr. iii/4296; *mirthe*, Min. Pms. iii, i/144; *myrthe*, Regem. of Pr. iii/857; *pit—wit*, Min. Pms. iii, i/95; *pit*, ib. iii, i/95; ib. xxiii, i/647; *pitte*, Regem. of Pr. iii/5372; *pittes*, ib. iii/952; *risshe—wisshe*, Min. Pms. i, i/193; *shit—it*, ib. ii, i/151; ib. xxiii, i/821; *shit*, ib. ii, i/151; Regem. of Pr. iii/1094, 4098; *schitte*, ib. iii/2567, 4464, 4537; Cupid ii/48; *vnshytte—it*, ib. ii/4342; *shittith*, ib. ii/2707; *syn*, ib. ii/1304; *synne(s)*, Min. Pms. ii, i/92, 324, 340, 343, 357, 374, 376, 446; ib. xxiii, i/65; Regem. of Pr. iii/460, 671, 1332; Cupid ii/393; *stynt(e)*, Min. Pms. i, i/152, 447; Regem. of Pr. iii/5235; *stire*, Min. Pms. i, i/399; ib. xxiii, i/81; Regem. of Pr. iii/924, 1599, 1687, 5423; *stirynge*, Min. Pms. ii, i/411; *stireth*, Regem. of Pr. iii/3807; *stiren*, ib.

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iii/4686; *stired*, Min. Pms. iii, i/192; Regem. of Pr. iii/4394; *thinkeþ*, ib. iii/153, 199, 3173; *thynne—spynne*, Min. Pms. ii, i/145; *thirsty*, ib. iii, i/135; *thrist*, Regem. of Pr. iii/3814.

by, Min. Pms. iii, i/410; *bye*, ib. ii, i/62; Regem. of Pr. iii/4519; *byynge*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/95; *bilde*, Regem. of Pr. iii/2715; *drie—compaignie*, Min. Pms. iii, i/135; *dryen*, Regem. of Pr. iii/1022; *filthes*, Cupid ii/262; *fyr—desyr*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/321; *afire—ire*, Regem. of Pr. iii/3472; *fyr*, Min. Pms. iii, i/320, 390; *afyre*, Cupid ii/83; *fyre*, ib. ii/241, 335; *fyry*, Regem. of Pr. iii/108; *hyde—dyde*, Min. Pms. ii, i/380; *hyde*, ib. ii, i/380; ib. xxiii, i/327; *hide*, Regem. of Pr. iii/1251; *hid*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/594; Cupid ii/87, 400; *hyd*, Regem. of Pr. iii/262; *hire—sire*, ib. iii/3507; *hyre*, Cupid ii/336; *hyred*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/584; Cupid ii/103; *kynde—wynde*, ib. ii/393; *—fynde*, Regem. of Pr. iii/245, 3367; *kynde*, Cupid ii/352, 396, 457 (2); *kyndes*, Min. Pms. ii, i/256; *kidde—betidde*, Cupid ii/314; *kid*, Regem. of Pr. iii/2439; *kithe*, ib. iii/2847; *kythe*, Min. Pms. iii, i/406; ib. xxiii, i/146; Regem. of Pr. iii/167, 3477; *kythen*, Cupid ii/224; *lyte—excite*, Min. Pms. i, i/400; *lyte*, ib. iii, i/92 (2); Regem. of Pr. iii/975; *litil*, Min. Pms. ii, i/482; ib. iii, i/341; ib. xxiii, i/113, 482; Regem. of Pr. iii/788, 1239; *litel(l)*, ib. iii/146, 2113; *lytil*, Min. Pms. xxiv, i/463; *lytyl*, Regem. of Pr. iii/173; *mynde—fynde*, Min. Pms. xxiii, i/59; ib. xxiv, i/107, 110; Cupid ii/437; Regem. of Pr. iii/51, 214, 2165; *—behynde*, Cupid ii/459; *—wynde*, Min. Pms. i, i/508; *mynde*, Cupid ii/383; Regem. of Pr. iii/15.

Caxton: *birthe*, Jas. 61, 96; *brigge*, ib. 19, 51; Dialog. 49; *fulfild*, Jas. 173; *fyllyd*, Dialog. 20; *first*, Jas. 2, 5, 9, 20, 23, 25, 28, 39, 46 (2); Dialog. 1, 4, 15; *gylt*, ib. 8; *gyrdle*, ib. 31 (2); *gyrdellis*, ib. 21; *kyn*, Jas. 178; *kinnesmen*, ib. 65; *kynnesman*, Dialog. 36; *king*, Jas. 1 (2), 2, 3 (2), 4 (5), 5 (4), 6 (7), &c.; *kynges*, ib. 4; Dialog. 2; *kyste*, Jas. 131; *kyssed*, Dialog. 32; *knyt*, Jas. 179; *lifte*, ib. 21, 33, 41, 106, 183; *lyfte*, ib. 22, 31; Dialog. 49; *pitte*, Jas. 163; *shitte*, ib. 48; *shytte*, ib. 62; *synne(s)*, ib. 5 (3), 14, 193; Dialog. 39; *synnars*, ib. 48; *styre*, ib. 30; *think-*, Jas. 16, 24, 35, 45 (2), 48 (2).

bye, Dialog. 10; *fyre*, Jas. 13, 25, 43 (2); Dialog. 8; *fystes*, Jas. 22; *hyd*, ib. 12, 24; *kien*, Dialog. 12; *kyen*, ib. 19; *litill*, Jas. 2, 3, 4, 5 (3), 13, 14, 16, 18, &c. (25 in all); *litell*, Dialog. 9, 40; *mynde*, Jas. 15 (2); Dialog. 25.

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Jul. Berners: *brydgys*, 13; *dyppe*, 20; *fyrste*, 2, 4; *hyll*, 18; *hylles*, 18; *lyst*, 19; *mylle*, 12; *myrthes*, 2; *pytte*, 19; *pyttes*, 12; *shytte*, 22; *styre*, 13; *styryth*, 17.

fire, 6; *fyre*, 5, 20; *kynde*, 19; *lytyll*, 6 (2), 7, 20.

Private:

London Correspondents: *kynsman; kynges; kyng; rysshes; (f)fyrst; lyst; gyrdilles.*

mynde; unkyndnesse; kynde; kyndely; fyr; lytyl; by; byar. Kihlbom, pp. 11, 12, 26, 27, 28.

Gregory: *byryd(e)*, 96, 104, 107; *brygge*, 60, 150; *bryggys*, 111; *fyrste*, 57; *firste*, 61; *gylte*, 80; *gyrdylle*, 174; *hylle*, 111, 194; *hyrdylle*, 116, 194; *kyngdome*, 75; *cyste*, 203; *kyste*, 209; *lyfte*, 86, 139; *pytte*, 'put', 201; *schyrte*, 165; *schyrtys*, 207; *schytte*, 159; *schyttyng*, 213; *synnys*, 197.

bylde, 62; *fystys*, 200; *hydde*, 145; *unkyndyst*, 103; *lytylle*, 160.

(C) The *u*-forms.

§ **265.** The new *u*-type occurs more frequently than the *e* in the earlier period in those official documents which were probably not written by professional or well-educated scribes. Thus the Petition Folk Merc. has *u* but no *e*; Wimbleton has 6 *u* and 4 *e*. On the other hand, St. Barthol. has only 2 *u* to 28 *e*; the London Wills have 5 *u* to 24 *e*; and Sustr. Men. has no *u* and 12 *e*. These latter docs. must all have been written by trained scribes, and the large proportion of *e*-forms and the scarcity of *u* suggests a contrast with the former group.

In State docs. of the late 15th c., the *u*-type is well represented (59 examples of *u* to 27 of *e*).

In literary works, on the other hand, the proportion in early writers (Chaucer, Hoccleve) is about 5 *e* to 1 *u*. This proportion is practically unchanged in Caxton and in Jul. Berners at the end of the 15th c.

Private docs. likewise have a greater proportion of *e*- than *u*-forms. The London correspondents have 11 *e* to 4 *u* and Gregory has 19 *e* to 5 *u*.

§ **266.** To sum up, the evidence suggests that, while *i* is the most common form for O.E. *ȳ* in all London docs., *e* is the

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usual alternative form in literary and private docs. throughout the century. It is also the usual form used in the earlier part of the century by upper class, professional scribes, but the *u*-type was used by less professional writers of the middle classes. This *u*-type, by the end of the century, finds its way into the writings of the State official docs.

§ 267. Official:

Petition Folk Merc. (1386): *lust*, 233.

Wimbleton (1387): *fullyid*, 15; *furst*, 1, 5, 10, 27; *wormys*, 21.

London Gilds (1389): *furst*, 9; *ffurste*, 10.

Chambers's Docs. (1389): *buried*, 42 (4); *burie*, 42; *furste*, 48; *kusse*, 48.

St. Barthol. (1400): *Cauntirbury*, 10; *worttys*, 8.

London Wills: *buried* (1428), 77; *buryed* (1431), 88; (1439), 113; *folfulle* (1434), 97; *furst* (1436), 104.

Ellis: *Brugge*, Sheriff of London (1450), II i 114; *furst*, Rich. III (1484), II i 163; Hen. VII (1491), II i 173; *hurdull*, Sheriff of London (1450), II i 115; *lust*, Hen. V (1422), III i 72.

Bekynton: *sture* (1442), 86.

Marg. of Anjou: *sture* (1450), 159.

City Church Recs.: *buryed* (1486), 4.

Lett. & Pprs.: *Ambresbury* (1501), Reception Cath. 407; *Bury*, ib. 401; *buryed* (1483), i/4; *buryall* (1483), i/3; *bruge* (1501), Reception Cath. 405 (2), 411 (2), 416; *Canturbury* (1494), Creation Duke York 393; *Cantorbury*, ib. 403; *Canterbury* (1501), Reception Cath. 411; *furst* (1483), xiii/44 (3); (1484), xx/56; xxiv/67; xxv/71, 73; xxvi/79, 81; (1486), i/91, 92; (1497), vii/105, 107, 109 (2); (1494), Creation Duke York 388, 389 (2), 390 (2), 393, 394 (2), 395, 397, 398, 400 (2), 402; (1501), Reception Cath. 413, 415 (2); *Glastonbury*, ib. 412; *lust* (1484), xxiv/68; xxv/75; *Salesbury* (1494), Creation Duke York 403; *Shreuesbury*, ib. 402; *sturred* (1486), i/91; *Wollebruge* (1501), Reception Cath. 410.

Literary:

Chaucer: *thursten; mury; murthe; tulle; put.* Wild, pp. 52–8.

Hoccleve: *buried*, Regem. of Pr. iii/4327; *burielles*, ib. iii/4539; *lust—just*, ib. iii/144, 174; *schutest*, ib. iii/4524; *thursteth*, ib. iii/2027; *worm*, Min. Pms. ii, i/466.

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Caxton: *burie*, Jas. 160, 177; *burye*, ib. 149, 168; *buried*, ib. 14, 185, 196; *buryed*, ib. 153; *burth(e)*, ib. 4, 60, 111, 165; *Caunterbury*, Dialog. 23; *lust*, ib. 2.

Jul. Berners: *athurste*, 3; *worme*, 14, 15.

Private:

London Correspondents: *furste; cuttyng; rusys; burdenys.* Kihlbom, pp. 11, 12.

Gregory: *buryd*, 90, 157, 161; *buryde*, 163, 180.

§ 268. Summary.

(1) In the Later London dialect O.E. *y̆* appears as *e̊*, *i̊*, and *ů*

(2) Forms with *e̊* go back to the original City-Essex *e̊*. These forms are commonest during the 14th and 15th c. in literary works, in private papers, and in more formal documents (histories, treatises, &c.) of the early 15th c.

(3) The Middlex. *i̊*-type is by far the most common of the three in all documents of this period.

(4) A new type *ů* occurs, the probable origin of which is discussed later. Forms with *ů* are most frequent in semi-official and less formal docs. of the 15th c., relating to the middle classes. As the century advances, these *ů*-forms make their way into the State and upper class official and formal docs., till by the end of the century the *ů*-forms outnumber the *e̊*. In literary works and in private papers, however, *ů* is exceedingly rare, even at the end of the century.

10. O.E. *e̊o*

§ 269. In all Later London docs. the vowel in words with O.E. *e̊o** goes back to the M.E. unrounded *e̊*-type—*erthe*, *sterrys*, *dere*, *depe*, &c. There is no trace of a form corresponding to the M.E. rounded type [*ø̊*].

* Spellings of *ei* (and *oi*) to express *ē* (and *ō*) occur in genuine London docs., e.g. *heilden*, Pret. Pl. (1384), Chambers's Docs. 23; *deyr*, 61; *preiste*, 47; *theifte*, 37, all in St. Barthol. (1400); and *freind*, London Correspondents, Kihlbom, p. 57. Similarly in St. Barthol. occur *boith*, 42; *foit*, 48; *stoid*, 38; *woid*, 78; *woyde*, 45; and in the London Correspondents *woyke* (Pt. O.E. *wacan*); *doyth*. Kihlbom, pp. 146, 147.

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The form *chuse*, Jas. 44, &c., arises from shift of stress after front consonants in O.E. (Jordan, § 84, Anm. 4).

11. O.E. *i*-mutation of *ĕa*

§ **270.** The O.E. *i*-mutation of *ĕa* appears regularly as *e*, *ee* —*elder*, *well*, *stepyll*, *here*, 'to hear'. (City dialect type, § 178).

It is just possible that in the modern form of the Middlex. Pl.-N. *Ruislip* we have a fossilized *i*-form from O.E. *ie* (Middlex. dialect type, § 186).

[Gregory has the forms *yldyste*, 81; *bylyve*, 202; *hyre*, 107, 109; *stypylle*, 63, 148, 184. The *y*-spellings indicate the early Mod. English raising of *ē* to *ī* in these words.]

12. O.E. *i*-mutation of *ĭo*

§ **271.** The O.E. *i*-mutation *ĭo* in Later London docs. is *ĕ*— *herde*, *derthe*, &c.

The forms *vliese*, *fliese*, *flyese*, Caxton, Jas. 86, 90, 111, may be from the Netherlandish *vliese*. Or the *ie* is simply the orthographical equivalent of M.E. [ē].

[A phonetic spelling, showing the raising of [ē] to [ī] in a word with O.E. *ĭo-i*, occurs in *dyrthe*, Gregory 75, 181.]

13. O.E. *ēag*, *ēah*

§ **272.** In the Later London docs. O.E. *ēag*, *ēah* appear as *ey*, *egh*, &c., and as *y*, *igh*, &c. The *i*-type is by far the commoner of the two, and after the middle of the 15th c. is practically the only form. Its probable origin will be discussed later (Chapter IV), as there is no evidence of the raised *i*-type from the earlier City and Middlex. sources.

§ **273.** Forms with *ī*, &c., occur in all classes of docs.

Official:

Wimbleton (1387): *yȝe*, 19, 20; *yȝen*, 10, 12, 14 (2), 21; *hy(e)*, 6, 11 (2), 25; *hier*, 11; *hinesse*, 14; *ny*, 16; *nyȝe*, 25, 27; *niȝ*, 25.
Chambers's Docs. (1389): *hye*, 42.

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St. Barthol. (1400): *y(i)e*, 5 (2), 10, 48, 51; *yen(e)*, 5, 13, 20, 23 (2), 29, 35 (2), 36, 51 (2), 57; *yis*, 11, 17; *hye*, 4 (2), 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 17, 18 (2), 24, 57, 59; *high(e)*, 12, 22, 39, 40; *hier*, 6; *hyer*, 24; *hyghest*, 45; *highnesse*, 5; *nygh(e)*, 4, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 45, 47, 62, 63; *nyh*, 10; *nye*, 22, 24; *anyhe*, 22; *nyghyr*, 48.

London Wills: *hi*, 101; *hie*, 21, 81, 85, 89, 101; *hygh*, 77, 113; *nyeboures*, 15.

Sustr. Men. (*c.* 1450): *yȝen*, 84; *hye*, 110, 111; *hihenesse*, 93; *nyȝe*, 82, 91.

Bekynton: *high* (1442), 78.

Marg. of Anjou: *nigh* (1448), 110.

City Church Recs.: *hye* (1480), 3; *high* (1480), 6.

Ellis: *high*, Hen. VI (1443), III i 81; Sheriff of London (1450), II i 115; Edw. IV (*c.* 1450), I i 9; Rich. III (1484), II i 162.

Lett. & Pprs.: *high* (30 examples) (1483), i/4, 9; xiii/44, &c.; Creation Duke York (1494), 388, 393, &c.; Reception Cath. (1501), 413 (4), &c.; *highnes(se)* (1483), ii/12, 14 (2); xiii/43; xv/48 (3), 49; (1484), xxiii/63, 64; Creation Duke York (1494), 388, 389; *nigh* (1483), ii/14; xiii/41; (1484), xxiv/68; (1486), i/91; (1497), vii/106 (2); *nyghness* (1483), i/10; (1497), vii/105.

Literary:

Chaucer: *y* in inflected forms. Wild, pp. 182–94.

Gower: *y* (with one exception). Fahrenberg, p. 401.

Hoccleve: *ye—chiualrie*, Min. Pms. ii, i/206; *eye—drye*, Regem. of Pr. iii/406; *—tormentrie*, ib. iii/2823; *ye—wrye*, ib. iii/2895; *yen—dryen*, ib. iii/1021; *—ye(n)*, Min. Pms. iii, i/97, 98; *hye—fructifie*, ib. xxiii, i/15; *hye—crye*, ib. i/706; *—testifye*, Regem. of Pr. iii/516; *—ýsaýe*, ib. iii/2709; *—pallesie*, ib. iii/3736; *hy*, Min. Pms. iii, i/83, 210; *Hynesse*, ib. i/419; *ny—sly*, ib. xxiv, i/251; *nye—enemye*, Regem. of Pr. iii/5304; *nygh—richely*, ib. iii/5353; *—I*, ib. iii/3308; *ny*, Min. Pms. iii, i/296, 322, 324.

Caxton: *hye*, Jas. 3, 4; Dialog. 31, 37; *hygher*, Jas. 7; *hyest*, ib. 12; Dialog. 22; *hyely*, Jas. 6; *nygh*, ib. 5, 19, 178. (Römstedt, p. 23, 15 exs.)

Jul. Berners: *nyghe*, 9, 12.

Private:

London Correspondents: *nigh; nyne*, 'eyes'; *nye; ny*. Kihlbom, pp. 26–8.

Gregory: *yee*, 202; *hyghe*, 68.

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§ **274.** The diphthongal forms *ey*, *ei* occur in the less formal docs. and especially in those connected with the middle classes, such as Wimbleton's Sermon and Usk's Petition. They are rare in literary works and in State papers.

Official:

Chambers's Docs. (1384): *heigh*, 26; *neghbours*, 30.
Wimbleton (1387): *eye*, 11; *neij*, 25; *ne(i)ȝbors*, 14, 24.
London Gilds (1389): *heiȝe*, 8, 11; *heye*, 8; *neghbours*, 3.
St. Barthol. (1400): *eyin*, 8; *neyghbouris*, 23, 24, 50, 60.
London Wills: *heighe* (1428), 84; *neyboures* (1434), 102.
Marg. of Anjou: *negh* (1442), 108, 113, 125, 137.
Ellis: *heigh*, Hen. VI (1443), III i 79.
Pollard's Docs.: *heighnes* (1507), ii/199.

Literary:

Chaucer: *ey* in uninflected forms. Wild, pp. 182–94.
Gower: *eye—awey*. Fahrenberg, p. 401.
Hoccleve: *eye—seie—bywreie*, Regem. of Pr. iii/4456; *hye—fey*, ib. iii/334; *neigheburgh*, Min. Pms. iii, i/166.
Caxton: *neyghbour(s)*, Jas. 5; Dialog. 9. (6 *ey*-forms noted by Römstedt, p. 23.)

Private:

London Correspondents: *neyghburreys; neyghborres; ney*. Kihlbom, pp. 27, 28.

§ **275. Summary.**

(1) Both *ī*- and *ei*-forms are found in Later London for O.E. *ēag*, *ēah*.

(2) The *ī*-forms are by far the commoner, and they occur regularly in all kinds of documents.

(3) The diphthongal *ei*-form is rare, more especially towards the end of the 15th c.

(4) The *ei*-type goes back to the old Middlex. and City type. How and from where the *ī*-type came into London will be discussed in the next chapter.

Final Summary: General Observations.

§ **276.** By the late fourteenth century London English is

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a single dialect, though a fair number of alternate forms occur ([ē] and [ē] for O.E. *ǣ*[1], *ei* and *ī* for O.E. *ēag, ēah*). In certain respects there seems to be a slight difference between the dialect features of formal documents, like St. Barthol., and those of the writings of a less professional character—e. g. Wimbleton's Sermon and the Petition Folk Merc. (the latter have *u*-forms for *y̆* and diphthongal *ei*-forms for O.E. *ēag, ēah* rather more frequently than the former). It is, however, unsafe to press these differences too far, though it seems probable that some class distinction may account for them.

The unity of the Later London dialect is in striking contrast with earlier conditions. Two originally distinct dialects have been blended more or less completely into one.

§ 277. The Dialect Complex of Later London.

An examination of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sources on the phonological points enumerated in § 4 shows that the Later London dialect had the following complex:

1. *en* for O.E. *an-i.* 2. *a* for O.E. *æ.* 3. *ar* for O.E. *ear.* 4. *al* for O.E. *æl*+cons. (unlengthened). 5. *old* for O.E. *æl* + *d.* 6. [ē], [ē] for O.E. *ǣ*[1]. 7. [ē], [ē] for O.E. *ǣ*[2]. 8. *ĭ, ŭ, ĕ* for O.E. *y̆.* 9. *ĕ* for O.E. *e̊o.* 10. *ĕ* for O.E. *e̊a-i.* 11. *ĕ* for O.E. *e̊o-i.* 12. *y* and *ey* for O.E. *ēag, ēah.*

The first noticeable feature of this dialect complex is the disappearance of a large number of alternative forms. Secondly, a comparison with earlier conditions shows that this Later London dialect is, on the whole, a blend of the early City and Middlex. dialects. The old City features have been established in Nos. 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11. The Middlex. type is established in place of the City type in No. 1 and in the slack [ē] in Nos. 6 and 7. Both the City *ĕ* and the Middlex. *ĭ* occur in No. 8.

Certain new features, however, appear in the Later London dialect, and some attempt must be made to account for them. These are: the unfractured *old*-type in No. 5; the tense [ē] in Nos. 6 and 7; the rounded *ŭ* in 8; and the raised *ī* in 12. They cannot have developed from the original City or Middlex.

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forms, which are, as a matter of fact, often found alternating with the newer type—e. g. Middlex. slack [ɛ̄] beside tense [ē] in 6 and 7, Later Middlex. *ĭ* and City *ĕ* beside *ŭ* in 8, &c. The new type must have come in from some other dialect area. The problem is to trace the source of each of these new features, and to explain how they came into the London dialect. These questions are discussed in Chapter IV.

TABLE II

Comparative Table of the main dialect features of Early London (City and Middlex.) and Later London.

Test Vowel	EARLY LONDON		LATER LONDON
	MIDDLEX.	CITY	
1. O.E. *an-i* . .	e	a	e
2. O.E. *æ* . .	e	a	a
3. O.E. *ear*+c. .	er (ar)	ar	ar
4. O.E. *æl*+c. . .	al, el	al	al
5. O.E. *æld* . .	eld	eld	old
6. O.E. *ǣ*[1] . .	ɛ̄	ā	ɛ̄, ē
7. O.E. *ǣ*[2] . .	ɛ̄	ā	ɛ̄, ē
8. O.E. *y̆* . . .	ĭ ŭ	ĕ (ŭ, ĭ)	ĭ (ĕ, ŭ)
9. O.E. *ĕo* . .	ĕ, ø̆	ĕ	ĕ
10. O.E. *ĕa-i* . .	ĕ (ĭ, ŭ)	ĕ	ĕ
11. O.E. *ĭo-i* . .	ĕ (ĭ, ŭ)	ĕ	ĕ
12. O.E. *ēag*, *ēah* .	ē (ei)	? ei	ī (ei)

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IV. NEW TYPES IN THE LONDON DIALECT

§ 278. In the Later London dialect, as has been pointed out, there are certain new types which cannot have developed either from the City or from the Middlex. dialects. These are (1) the unfractured *old*-type, (2) tense [ē] for O.E. $\bar{æ}^1$ and (3) $\bar{æ}^2$, (4) $\check{u}$ for O.E. $\check{y}$, and (5) $\bar{\imath}$ for O.E. *ēag*, *ēah*. Each of these points will be discussed in turn, and the question of their probable place of origin, as well as the problem how they came into the London dialect, will be dealt with.

1. The M.E. *old*-type in London

§ 279. While it is certain that not only the City (§ 65) and Essex (§ 67), but also Middlex. itself (§§ 74–80) were all originally fracture areas, both texts and Pl.-Ns. of the earlier M.E. period show that the unfractured Anglian type comes into Middlex. very early (13th c.) (§§ 75–80). These forms appear earlier in the texts than in the spellings of Pl.-Ns. (§ 81. 4). The more westerly Lamb. Homs. have far more *ald-*, *old*-forms than *eld* (§ 77), while the Trin. Homs., from an area more easterly and farther north, have *eld* as a rule, though *ald*, *old* also occur occasionally (§§ 75, 76). By the fifteenth century, *old* is the only form (§ 232).

§ 280. From where does this unfractured type come? We may dismiss the suggestion of indirect influence exerted by trade relations between the City as a great mart and Cambs., Suffolk, and Norfolk. If this were true, we should expect to find this influence apparent first in the dialect of Essex and ot the City, and later in the Middlex. dialect. But the unfractured *eld*-type persists in City Pl.-Ns. until the 15th c. (§ 236); *old*-forms first occur *c.* 1290, and they are not very frequent during the 14th c. (§ 237). On the other hand, *old*-forms are common

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in Middlex. texts and occur in Pl.-Ns. at a time long prior to their appearance in the City; *eld*-forms are comparatively infrequent in Middlex. Pl.-Ns. of the 14th c. and do not occur later than *c.* 1370 (§ 234).

§ 281. Furthermore the *ald-*, *old*-forms from Norfolk and Suffolk apparently did not work their way through Essex to London, for according to the evidence Essex Pl.-Ns. show an overwhelming number of *eld*-forms far into the 14th c.; even at the beginning of the 15th c. a few fractured forms still linger:

Chaldewell, 1337 F. F.; 1338, 1339 Cal. Inq. P. M. viii; 1341 Non. Inq.; 1347 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; 1428 F. A. ii; *Cheldebenesmed*, 14th c. Colch. Ch. 433, 440; *Cheldeberecroft*, 14th c. ib. 289; *Chenewoldesealdecote*, 15th c. ib. 233; *Eldehethe*, 14th c. ib. 307, 308; *Heldeleye*, 1349 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Eldeneptune*, &c., 14th c. Colch. Ch. 329, 330, 441; *Gelham*, 1303 F. A. ii; *Northwelde*, &c., 1316 Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; 1330 Cal. Inq. P. M. vii; 1341 Non. Inq.; 1352 Cal. Inq. P. M. x (2); 1412 F. A. vi (2); *Welde*, 1303 ib. ii (2); 1310 Cal. Inq. P. M. xi; 1319 ib. vi; 1320 F. F.; 1341 Non. Inq.; 1346 F. A. ii (2); 1352, 1360 Cal. Inq. P. M. x; 1412 F. A. vi; 1428 ib. ii (3); *Weldebasset*, 1341 Non. Inq.

§ 282. As has been shown (§ 70), the 13th c. unfractured forms in Essex Pl.-Ns. practically are confined to a small border area, and it is not till late 14th c. that examples of unfractured forms are forthcoming in Essex Pl.-Ns. generally:

Coldhall, 1412 F. A. vi; *Coldenorton*, 1351 Cal. Inq. P. M. ix; *Calderwell*, 15th c. Colch. Ch. 649; *Chenewoldes aldecote*, 15th c. ib. 232; *Coppewold*, 1360 Cal. Inq. P. M. x; *Nortwald*, 1330 ib. vii; *Oldgatyslond*, 15th c. Colch. Ch. 501; *Oldhall*, 1412 F. A. vi.

§ 283. The unfractured type could not have come from Hertfordshire. The evidence shows that Herts., too, originally belonged to the fracture area. Nor did the Anglian *ald-*, *old*-forms find their way into London through Herts., for down to the middle of the 14th c. fracture forms greatly predominate in Pl.-Ns. and traces of this type are found at much later dates:

Chaldecote, 1303 F. A. ii (2); *Chaldewell Grove*, 12th c. doc.,

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Vict. County Hist. iii/412; *Chaldwellholm*, no date, ib. iii/412; *Chaldwell mead*, &c., 1627 ib. iii/503; no date, ib. iii/432; 16th c. ib. iii/381, 387; iv/145; *Chadwellspring*, no date, ib. iii/409, 412; iv/241; *Ealdbury*, 1251 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Eldeberie*, 1086 D. B.; *Eldbury*, no date, doc. in Vict. County Hist. iv/37; *Heldeburweye*, 1281 ib. iii/152; *Healdefeld*, temp. Rich. I B. M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; *Eldefelde*, 1184 doc. in Vict. County Hist. iii/260; *Eldfeld*, no date, Cat. Ant. Dds. i; 13th c. Cal. Inq. P. M. iii; *Eldefeldbrade*, 14th c. doc. in Vict. County Hist. iii/217; *Eldehallegrene*, 14th c. ib. iii/351; 1422 Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; *Eldeham*, 11th c. doc. in Vict. County Hist. iv/4; *Eldeknytes*, 1359 Cal. Inq. P. M. x; *Elde Marlynges*, 13th c. doc. in Vict. County Hist. ii/216; no date, Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Eldewellshot*, 14th c. doc. in Vict. County Hist. iv/90 (note); *Heldewod*, 1283 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; *Heldewood*, 1284 doc. in Vict. County Hist. ii/211; *Neþerwelde*, late 13th c. B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i.

§ 284. Unfractured forms are rare in Herts. Pl.-Ns., and those which do occur are generally due to the influence of adjacent unfractured areas—e. g. *Aldeƀia*, &c., in West Herts. (near Tring) to Bucks. (§ 291). With this compare *Ealdbury* (near Braughing) on the Essex border. *Caldecote* (also *Chaldecote* § 283) is in North Herts., near Barley, and close to the border of Cambs., which belonged to the unfractured area:

Aldeƀia, 1167, 1172 Pipe Rlls.; *Audeburia*, 13th c. doc. in Vict. County Hist. iv/4; *Aldebery*, 14th c. ib. iv/4; *Aldebury*, 1395 Gest. Abbat. Sanct. Alb. iii (9); 1428 F. A. ii; *Aldewelle*, 1323 Cal. Inq. P. M. vi; *Caldecote*, 13th c. ib. i; 1225 Cal. Ch. Rlls.; 1274 Rotl. Hund.; 1291 Tax. Eccles. (2); temp. Ed. I B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1303 F. A. ii; 1310 Gest. Abbat. Sanct. Alb. ii (3); 1320, 1328 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1333 Cal. Inq. P. M. xi; 1341 Non. Inq. (3); 1349 Cal. Inq. P. M. ix; 1395 Gest. Abbat. Sanct. Alb. iii (6); 1412, 1428 F. A. ii.

§ 285. It does not seem likely that the unfractured forms came into the London dialect from adjacent areas south of the Thames (i. e. Kent or Surrey).

§ 286. Kent is predominantly a fracture county. The Ayenbite (1340) has chiefly *eald*, *yald*, *yeald*, *yeld* (Dolle, p. 52), but

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ald, *old* comparatively rarely (ib., p. 51). The Pl.-Ns. show the fracture type as a rule:

Cheldecote, &c., 1306 Cal. Inq. P. M. iv; 1327 ib. vii, viii; temp. Hen. III B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i, ii; *Cheldegate*, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Ealde*, 1436 F. A. iii; *Ealdehalle*, 1346 ib. iii; *Yaldham*, 1275, 1290, 1397 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1436 F. A. iii; *Eldehawe*, 1371 Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; *Ealdeheye*, 1347 Cal. Inq. P. M. ix; *E(a)ldinge*, 1316 F. A. iii; 1327 Cal. Inq. P. M. vii, viii; 1333, 1337 ib. xi; 1347, 1349 ib. ix; 1358 ib. x; 1374 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; 1380 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1436 F. A. iii; *Ealdreden*, 1338 Cat. Ant. Dds. vi; *Eldrychis feld*, 1361 ib. vi; *Honychelde*, 1297 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii; *Wælde*, 1322 ib. vi; *welde*, 1324 ib. vi; *Weldeslade*, 1284 F. A. iii; 1296 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii; *Rudelingeswe(a)lde*, &c., temp. Hen. III ib. i; 1291 Tax. Eccles.; 1316 F. A. iii; 1327 Cal. Inq. P. M. vii; 1338, 1339 ib. viii; 1359 ib. x; *Siberdeswelde*, 13th c. Inq. P. M.; 1291 Tax. Eccles.; *Wymelingweld*, 1316 F. A. iii.

§ 287. The Pl.-Ns. of Kent show few *old*-forms before the latter half of the 14th c. (*old*, *ald* sometimes arise through lack of stress):

Aldinton, late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; 1284 F. A. iii; *Haldesshe*, 1306 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Caldicote*, 1300 Cal. Inq. P. M. iv; 1359 ib. x; 1371 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1436 F. A. iii; *Caldham*, 1426 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Oldehawe*, 1374 ib. iii; *Oldemede*, 1399 ib. vi; *Olde Romeneye*, 1339 Cal. Inq. P. M. viii; *Wald*, temp. Ed. III B. M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; *Waldwarsshare*, 1316 F. A. iii; *Hamelwold*, 1232 Cl. Rlls. ii; *Hathewaldenne*, 1316 F. A. iii; 1342 Cal. Inq. P. M. viii; *Rudelingewalde*, &c., temp. Hen. III ib. i; late 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; 1339 Cal. Inq. P. M. viii; 1360 ib. x; *Siberteswolde*, 1291 Tax. Eccles.

§ 288. Surrey was also originally an *eld*-county. The 13th c. Chertsey Chartulary has *ealde*, *onwealde*, *helden*, &c.; unfractured forms occur only in unstressed positions: *Ercenuuald*, *Fritheuuoldus*, &c. The O. & N., also of the 13th c., has *belde*, besides more usual *alde*, *old*, &c. (on this point *v.* Jordan, p. 7). Evidence from rhymes is lacking on this point, and as the MSS. do not seem to have been written by Surrey scribes,

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little can be argued from mere spelling forms in this text. Surrey Pl.-N. forms show the fractured type. Besides unlengthened forms like *Chalvescroft*, *Chalvedune*, *Chalveham*, *Chalvemer*, *Chalveteghe*, the following have been noted:

Chaldeford, 1428 F. A. v; *Chaldewell*, 1198 Pipe Rlls.; *Ealdeburi*, 13th c. Kemble iv/153 (2); *Eldeburi*, 1313 doc. in Vict. County Hist. i/247; 1327 Cal. Inq. P. M. viii; *Eldelonde*, no date, Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Eldewell*, 14th c. doc. in Vict. County Hist. iv/109; *Eldworth*, 14th c. doc. ib. iv/109; *Weltham*, 1316 F. A. v.

§ 289. A few *old-*, *ald*-spellings occur in Surrey Pl.-Ns., chiefly of the 14th c., and often in unstressed positions:

Aldebury, 1386 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; 1428 F. A. v (2); *Alfold*, 1428 ib. v; *Haldford*, 1316 ib. v; *Aldeland*, 1222 St. Paul's Doomsd.; *Coldabbey*, 1492 Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; *Coldenorton*, 1440 ib. v; *Oldecroft*, 1360 Cal. Inq. P. M. x; *Herewaldesle*, 13th c. B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1428 F. A. v; *Honewaldesham*, &c., 1353 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; 1372 ib. i; *Thanewald*, 13th c. Kemble v/20; *Walder*, 1325 Banstead Manor, p. 331; *Waldyngham*, 1428 F. A. v; *Whonewaldesham*, 13th c. Kemble ii/193; 1350 Cat. Ant. Dds. vi.

§ 290. Bucks. appears to be the only original non-fracture county in direct contact with Middlex. In the early Pl.-Ns. a few fracture forms do occur. These are in the south of the county, just in the area (between the Chilterns and the Thames) which, according to Mawer (*Bucks. Place-Names*, Introduction, p. xiv), was settled by Middle Saxons. This small area must therefore be regarded as an outlying part of Middlex.:

Chalfeye, 1237–40 Fees i; *Chalvelegh*, 1227 Assize Roll; *Chalvele*, 1276 Rotl. Hund.; *Heldefeld* (Burnham), no date, Cat. Ant. Dds. i.

Other fracture forms are *Chaudewell*, 1198 Plac. Abbrev., near Great Brickhill on the borders of Beds., a fracture county, and *Welde* (earlier *Walda*), 1279, 1280–90, 1291, 1299, 1300, 1304, 1306, 1317 Westbury Dds.

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§ **291.** The evidence for Bucks. shows that, except in the extreme south, the county was originally a non-fracture area. Ekwall (p. 34) takes a different view, but his material is inadequate. Mawer (loc. cit., p. xiv) definitely states 'the north of the county was settled by Angles, not Saxons', though he is doubtful how far south this Anglian settlement extended. It seems, however, that Bucks., by the beginning of the M.E. period, was Anglian in character as far south as the Chilterns. From the earliest M.E. period onwards *ald, old, cald, cold,* &c., predominate in Pl.-N. forms:

Aldemade, 1195 Pipe Rlls. 17; temp. John Plac. Abbrev.; *Aldemede*, temp. Rich. I Pipe Rlls.; *Aldewrthe*, 1205 Mawer, Bucks. Pl.-Ns., p. 259; *Aldewyk*, 1370 Cat. Ant. Dds. vi; *Caldecote*, 1185 Exch. Receipt Rll., p. 11; 1199 C. R. Rlls. i; 1284 F. A. i; 1292 Rotl. Ch.; 1310 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1454 Cat. Ant. Dds. vi; *Caltecote*, no date, ib. vi; *Calvertone*, 1182 B. M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1203 C. R. Rlls. ii; 1284 F. A. i; *Kaldwell*, 1204–35 Linc. Lib. Ant., p. 19; *Oldfordesclade*, 13th c. Cat. Ant. Dds. vi; *Saldehemesclade*, 1269, 1277, 1280 Westbury Dds.; *Salden(e)*, 1203 C. R. Rlls. ii; 1237 Fees; 1251 Inq. P. M.; 1280 Rotl. Ch.; 1284 F. A. i; 1351 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; 1355 ib. iii; no date, ib. ii; *Saldeston*, 1237 Fees; 1240 Westbury Dds.; 1267 Rotl. Ch.; 1284 F. A. i; 1325 Plac. Abbrev.; *Stodfold*, 1175, 1178 Pipe Rlls.; *Stodfalde*, 1284 F. A. i; *Suthcaldecote*, 1290, 1304 Plac. Abbrev.; *Walde*, 1198 ib.; *Wolde*, 1280–90, 1291 Westbury Dds.; *Waldrug*, &c., temp. Rich. I Pipe Rlls.; 1237 Fees ii; 1267 Rotl. Ch. ii; 1278, 1287 Plac. Abbrev.; *Waldreville*, 1185 N. L. Ch., p. 12.

§ **292.** It appears that **Bucks.** is the most probable area from which the *old*-type penetrated into the London dialect. The following facts support this view.

(1) The evidence is that unfractured forms appear first, and that quite early, in Middlex. and more especially in the west of the county (Pl.-Ns. and Lamb. Homs.).

(2) The *old*-type cannot have come indirectly from Suffolk and Norfolk, because the City and Essex are later in admitting

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it than Middlex.; moreover, *eld*-forms persist longer in the City and Essex than in Middlex.

(3) **Herts.** is ruled out because *eld* persists here long after *old* is established as the main type in Middlex.

(4) **Kent** is also an *eld* area long after this type has ceased to be the chief type in Middlex.

(5) **Surrey**, originally chiefly *eld*, has only scattered *old*-forms in M.E.

(6) **Bucks.** is the only non-fracture area in immediate contact with Middlex.

2. M.E. tense [ē] from O.E. ǣ¹ in the London Dialect

§ **293.** The Middlex. dialect had originally [ɛ̄] (§ 101) and the City had *ā* for ǣ¹ (§ 83). But as early as *c.* 1200 there is a trace of the tense [ē]-type in the Lamb. Homs. Davy (*c.* 1307) has two rhymes of words with O.E. ǣ¹ and M.E. undoubted tense [ē]. By the time of Chaucer, O.E. ǣ¹ is more often rhymed tense than slack, and this is equally true of the later writer Hoccleve.

§ **294.** The tense type must have penetrated to London from some outside area, and the evidence shows that this must have begun fairly early (*c.* 1200). This evidence on the history of [ē] for ǣ¹ in London is very scanty during the M.E. period, and it is almost impossible to decide whether the new type came originally from an area north or south of the Thames.

§ **295.** It is possible that the tense [ē]-type came from the area south of the Thames. It is characteristic of the dialect of Kent (Luick, § 117; Wyld, *Modern Coll. Eng.*, p. 41, &c.). Further, tense [ē] for O.E. ǣ¹ is characteristic also of the Surrey dialect, for this type occurs both in the late ninth-century Surrey Charter and in the 13th c. O. & N. (Wyld, *Essays and Studies*, vi, pp. 140, 141). It seems quite likely that at an early date the Surrey-Kentish [ē] might have penetrated into the City and Middlex., since from the earliest times there was

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direct communication between the two areas by way of London Bridge.

§ 296. Another possibility is that the tense [ē] in the London dialect was Anglian in origin. According to the evidence of the M.E. Bestiary and of Genesis and Exodus, tense [ē] is the regular type for Norfolk (Wyld, *Essays and Studies*, vi, pp. 126–7). Suffolk, too, has the tense [ē], according to the evidence of L.O.E. Charters and of the Suffolk writer Bokenam (*c.* 1443).

§ 297. Essex, however, had originally the retracted *ā*-type (§ 86). There is definite evidence, too, that Herts. likewise had *ā* for ǣ¹ (Heuser, *Alt-London*, pp. 39–40). My own collection of Herts. Pl.-Ns. shows *ā* for O.E. ǣ¹ from the late 12th c. till the early 15th c. (*Thonemad, Mulnmade, Dagnalstrate*, &c., § 340). If the tense [ē] in the London dialect be Anglian in origin, we may expect to find early evidence of its influence on the intervening Essex dialect.

§ 298. There is a certain amount of evidence indicating that in the M.E. period both *ā* and tense [ē] for ǣ¹ were known in the Essex dialect. There is a group of M.E. texts which show characteristic Essex features (Table I). These are the Ess. Lyrics, St. Alex., Arth. & Merl., Kyng Alisaund., Rich., St. Patrik's P., Seven Sages. (Cf. also Heuser, pp. 60–1; Jordan, p. 10; Mackenzie, *Engl. Stud.* 61 (3), § 5.)

In each of these texts, words with O.E. ǣ¹ are spelt with *a* and rhymed with M.E. long *ā*.

Ess. Lyrics: *lat*, iii. 8; *sali*, iii. 14; *slapst*, iii. 18; *þare—bare*, iii. 9; *þar*, ii. 40, 42; iv. 36; *war*, 'where', i. 20; iii. 40; iv. 28; *warn*, ii. 5.

St. Alex.: *ðare—care*, 569.

Arth. & Merl.: *bade*, Pret. Pl. —*made*, 376; *bispake*, Pret. Pl. —*take*, 2505; *hare*, 'hair'—*tare*, Pret. Sing., 7715; *rade*—(*y*)*made*, 62, 1602, 2048, 2829, &c.; *sade—made*, 936; *yslape—rape*, 2367; *ðare—bare*, 1325, 2674, 3026, 3804, &c.; *ðare—care*, 155; *ware —care*, 159, 165, 219, &c.; *were—fare*, 3863, 4205, 4742; *ware —Seruagare*, 4728.

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Kyng Alisaund.: *bare*, Pret. Pl. —*care*, 5452; *drede*—*made*, 7315; *drade*—*grade*, 5740; *here*, 'hair'—*tare*, Pret. Sing., 4659; *rade*—*bade*, Pret. Sing., 6165; *rede*—*made*, 4648; *sad*—*ymad*, 5887; *stretis*—*gatis*, 2631; *taren*, Pret. Pl. —*faren*, 6912; *thare*—*care*, 7231; *there*—*fare*, 7982; *thare*—*Melinare*, 4488; *ware*—*bare*, 4692, 5346, &c.; *whar*—*bar*, 2691; *yere*—*care*, 6961.

Rich.: *drade*—*made*, 6054; *there*—*fare*, 6911; *thare*—*bare*, 295; —*care*, 2419; —*fare*, 623, 4729; —*mar*, 971; *were*—*bare*, 6831; —*care*, 3149, 6688; —*chaffar*, 3469; —*yare*, 6728; *yer*—*care*, 2752.

St. Patrik's P.: *auen*, 166; *war*, 45.

Seven Sages: *quathe*, Pret. Pl. —*rathe*, 503; *slape*—*knape*, 931; —*rape*, 1620, 1632; *thare*—*care*, 1481, 1750; —*misfare*, 3805; *ware*—*fare*, 1165.

§ **299.** In each of these texts, words with O.E. æ[1] rhyme frequently with words having M.E. undoubted tense [ē]:

Ess. Lyrics: *rede*—*nede*, iii. 57; *were*—*here*, ii. 27; iii. 15; —*dere*, iv. 41.

St. Alex.: *dede*—*fede*, 87; *dedes*—*nedes*, 117; *drede*—*fede*, 819; —*ȝede*, 471; *lete*—*swete*, 34; *rede*—*fede*, 819; —*ȝede*, 17; *wede*—*ȝede*, 277, 770; *were*—*dere*, 695.

Arth. & Merl.: *ferrede*—*spede*, 1761; —*þede*, 8581; *rede*—*spede*, 1950; *unrede*—*nede*, 1665; *þere*—*here*, 7361.

Kyng Alisaund.: *drede*—*nede*, 2131; *slepe*—*kepe*, 322; *strete*—*fete*, 3279.

Rich.: *dede*—*wyghthede*, 6671; —*mede*, 695; —*nede*, 2733, 6290; —*stede*, 1917; —*yede*, 2623; *drede*—*ferhede*, 1919; —*nede*, 5515; —*yede*, 4121; *leche*—*seche*, 3028; *mete*—*schete*, 4521; *rede*—*nede*, 1193, 4097; —*spede*, 6036; —*yede*, 1586, 5205, 5277; *slepe*—*kepe*, 6384, 6884; *strete*—*feete*, 3890; *wede*—*stede*, 4962, 6907.

St. Patrik's P.: *almesdede*—*spede*, 164; *misdede*—*spede*, 14; *drede*—*ȝede*, 120; *þere*—*here*, 162; *were*—*here*, 134; *ȝer*—*here*, 58.

Seven Sages: *dede*—*nede*, 1452; *drede*—*spede*, 3347; *red*—*ned*, 2657; *rede*—*nede*, 1757; *yere*—*here*, 64; *yere*—*dere*, 3723.

§ **300.** Spellings with *e* also occur in the V. & V. (§ 87), and in Ess. Pl.-Ns. (§ 89), especially those lying in North Essex.

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In the 15th c., *ā* does not occur in the Essex Pallad., but tense [ē] is common in rhyme:

brede—fede, 21, 116; *dede—fede*, 191; *dede is—need is*, 53; *drede—hede*, 39; *—need*, 10, 131; *drede—spede*, 11; *—wede*, 46, 141; *drede is—redes*, 28; *—weedes*, 46; *rede—weede*, 192; *sede —fede*, 181, 217; *—heede*, 151; *—spede*, 11, 96; *seedes—need is*, 29, 53, 151; *weete—fede*, 191.

A few examples of ǣ¹ rhyming with O.E. *ĕ* lengthened in open syllables occur. These must be due to the influence of the Middlex. dialect, where [ē] is the typical form:

dede—trede, 34; *drede—trede*, 34; *there—bere*, 66; *—dere*, 35; *—tere*, 102; *—were*, 48, 61; *there—eree*, 'plough', 61.

Burgh, an Essex man, has only tense [ē] rhymes in the Secrees of Old Philosoffres:

dedys—nedys, 75; *rede—nede*, 72.

§ 301. Summary.

The tense [ē] in the London dialect may be either South-Eastern or Anglian in origin.

(1) Both Surrey and Kent have original tense [ē] for ǣ¹.

(2) This area is in direct contact with the City by way of London Bridge.

(3) Norfolk and Suffolk have tense [ē] for ǣ¹, but they are separated from Middlex. and the City by Essex and Herts., both of which have *ā* for ǣ¹.

(4) There is evidence, however, that in Essex in the M.E. period the tense [ē]-type was fairly common, and was in fact gradually displacing the *ā*-type. By the 15th c. *ā* has disappeared from Essex docs. Tense [ē] is the usual type, with occasional examples of the Middlex. ē-type. There is some ground, therefore, for believing that the Anglian [ē] may have found its way into London through Essex.

3. M.E. [ē] from O.E. ǣ² in the London Dialect

§ 302. In the M.E. period, the City dialect had *ā* (§ 106), and the Middlex. dialect had [ē] (§ 120. 7) in words with O.E.

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æ². During the L.M.E. and E.Mod. periods, writers like Chaucer and Hoccleve have the Middlex. [ē]-type as a rule, but from the time of Chaucer onward there occur rhymes of æ² with certain tense [ē]. These rhymes are not very common, and their genuineness in Chaucer's works has been questioned (Langhans, Anglia 45, pp. 375 . . . ; Kihlbom, *Fifteenth Century English*, p. 73). Still, the evidence from Hoccleve (§ 255) confirms the suggestion that tense [ē] for æ² was beginning to find its way into the London dialect.

§ 303. It is quite possible that this tense [ē] was South-Eastern in origin. It is typical of the Kentish dialect in the M.E. period (Luick, § 187 ; Wyld, *Modern Coll. Eng.*, p. 41). East Surrey likewise appears to have had [ē] for æ², but [ē] farther west (Wyld, *Essays and Studies*, vi, p. 140). It is conceivable that the frequent use of the tense [ē] in the works of the Kentish writer Gower (*c.* 1390) may have served to popularize this type among London writers of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

§ 304. The second possibility is that [ē] for æ² in London is Anglian in origin. The M.E. text Genesis and Exodus, which has been located in Norfolk (Wyld, *Essays and Studies*, vi, p. 127), has only tense rhymes :

ear, O.E. '*ær*' —*ðear* (= O.E. '*dēor*'), 31 ; *leden—speden*, 66 ; *leden—ðeden*, 66 ; *utled—utsped*, 90.

Similarly the verse romance Octovian, the dialect character of which indicates that it belongs to Suffolk, has only tense [ē] rhymes :

arere—dere, 1328 ; *—here*, 22 ; *lede—blede*, 514 ; *—glede*, 229 ; *—fede*, 677 ; *lere—here*, 19 ; *—dere*, 1327 ; *see—be*, 1836 ; *—fre*, 595.

§ 305. In early Modern Eng., Suffolk writers like Lydgate and Bokenam have only [ē] for æ² : *clene—grene*, *hete—swete*, *leene—seene*, &c., in Lydgate ; *clene—sene*, *lede—spede*, *teche—beseche* in Bokenam.

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§ **306.** It has been shown that in Essex ǣ² became *ā* (§ 107). If the tense type came into the London dialect from the Norfolk-Suffolk area, there should be some trace of its passage through Essex.

§ **307.** In the group of M.E. texts which have been located in Essex (§ 298), O.E. ǣ² appears generally as *ā*:

Ess. Lyrics: *fleas—was*, i. 43.

St. Alex.: *bilaue—haue*, 21.

Arth. & Merl.: *ani—mani*, 8792; *ar—bar*, 7958; *bilaue—haue*, 1999; *dale—smale*, 3835; *hale—tale*, 29; *haþen—baþen*, 6813, 9918; *—maþen*, 483, 8107; *—scaþen*, 6717, 7003, 7011, 7511; *mast—hast*, 115, 1725, 2213...

Kyng Alisaund.: *ar—ywar*, 2474; *dall—alle*, 7115; *lest—hast*, 500; *teche—bycache*, 257; *—Marche*, 6964.

Rich.: *ar*, 2584, 2719, 3201, 3312, 3393, 3856, 5082, 5682; *are—forbare*, 420; *lad—made*, 1388; *slethe—scathe*, 2138.

St. Patrik's P.: *ani*, 20, 48, 93; *ar*, 109, 165; *arliche*, 22; *lasteþ*, 16.

Seven Sages: *bilaue—knave*, 161; *last—hast*, 1132; *isprad—abrad*, 609.

§ **308.** In 6 out of these 7 texts ǣ² rhymes with M.E. undoubted tense [ē] as well:

Ess. Lyrics: *clene—sene*, P. P., ii. 45; *lede—nede*, iii. 59.

St. Alex.: *clene—shene*, 270; *lede—fede*, 87; *ledde—spedde*, 249; *lene—sene*, 424; *lere—here*, 445; *cee—be*, 591; *—he*, 639.

Kyng Alisaund.: *bileve—cleove*, 7703; *lene—kene*, 1317; *cee—ysee*, 5605; *whete—swete*, 5650.

Rich.: *clene—sene*, 4552; *—betwene*, 4197; *deal—fele*, Pret. Sing., 2039, 3120; *—stele*, 416; *lede—nede*, 1435; *lene—bene*, 6004; *lere—here*, 2857, 6815; *se(a)—hee*, 57, 2562; *—free*, 4610; *—three*, 649, 1457; *—we*, 2477; *teche—seche*, 575, 3788, 4775.

St. Patrik's P.: *clene—tene*, 162; *hete—swete*, 96; *lede—rede*, 124, 187; *se—be*, 169.

§ **309.** In the 15th c. Essex writers, O.E. ǣ² is always rhymed tense. Burgh, the continuator of Lydgate's Secrees of Old Philosoffres, who was born in Essex and spent all his life there, has the following rhymes:

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clene—sene, 52, 84; *lede—fede*, 62; *see—flee*, 50; *mene—sene*, 62, 84.

The Essex translation of Palladius also has tense rhymes exclusively:

clene—greene, 58; *lede—fede*, 24, 27, 217; *—nede*, 27; *sprede—nede*, 13, 40, 62, 179; *—weede*, 62, 192.

§ 310. There is clear indication, then, that in M.E. in the Essex dialect O.E. $\bar{æ}^2$ appears both as $\bar{a}$ and as [ē], and that by the 15th c. the tense [ē] alone survives.

§ 311. **Summary.**

(1) The tense [ē] for $\bar{æ}^2$ in the Later London dialect may be either South-Eastern or Anglian in origin.

(2) Kent and E. Surrey (but not W. Surrey) had tense [ē] for O.E. $\bar{æ}^2$ from the earliest M.E. period.

(3) This area is in direct contact with London across London Bridge, and tense [ē] may have penetrated into London by this way.

(4) The dialects of Norfolk and Suffolk appear to have had only [ē] for $\bar{æ}^2$ in M.E., but the intervening areas of Herts. and Essex had $\bar{a}$ originally.

(5) There is some evidence, however, that the Anglian tense [ē] found its way into the Essex dialect during the E.M.E. period, and that by the 15th c. it was fully established in place of the original $\bar{a}$-type. It is quite possible, therefore, that tense [ē] in London came from the Anglian area through Essex.

4. M.E. $\breve{u}$ from O.E. $\breve{y}$ in the Later London Dialect

§ 312. During the 15th c., O.E. $\breve{y}$ appears as *e*, *i*, and *u* in London English (§ 261). It has been shown that the *e*-type belongs to the City-Essex dialect, and that *i* is characteristic of the Middlex. dialect, where $\breve{y}$ underwent unrounding in the earliest M.E. period. The problem is to account for the *u*-type.

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§ 313. The theory of a late unrounding of *y̆* to account for the occurrence of both *i*- and *u*-forms in the London dialect does not fit the facts. My statistics for Middlex. Pl.-Ns. show that *i* predominates in the 13th c. and *u* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries:

	i	*u*	*e*
13th c. (and before)	36	29	14
14th c.	64	126	12
15th c.	16	17	5

If a late unrounding took place, one would expect that *u* would predominate in the earlier period and *i* in the later, whereas just the reverse is the case.

§ 314. Furthermore, the *u*-type in words with O.E. *y̆* is more common in documents of the later 15th c. than in those of the earlier period (§§ 265, 266). The inevitable conclusion is that the *u* is a new type which penetrates into the Later London dialect from some other area. This will explain the infrequency of the *u*-type in those writers—Chaucer, Gregory, &c.—who are recognized as using a definitely 'southern' type of English (Wyld, *Modern Coll. Eng.*, pp. 52, 92).

§ 315. The question arises, from what area did this new *u* come? There is some reason for believing that it may have come in from the adjoining county of **Hertfordshire**. The Pl.-N. forms of this county show the *u*-, *e*-, and *i*-types, but *u* predominates from the 12th c. onward:

	u	*i*	*e*
12th c.	18	9	16
13th c.	76	27	42
14th c.	130	28	35
15th c.	84	15	14

I have carefully localized the *i*- and the *e*-forms. The *i*-forms appear to be due to the influence of the neighbouring *i*-areas of Cambs. in the north and Middlex. in the south, and the *e*-forms to the influence of Essex.

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The *i*-forms in North Herts. occur in an area extending from the Cambs. border south to Letchworth-Barkway; those in South Herts. from the Middlex. border north to St. Albans. The *e*-forms occur along the Essex border, extending westward into Herts. as far as Stevenage, and then south to Cheshunt. In the rest of Herts. *u* is practically the only form which occurs.

§ **316.** Though the dialect of Herts., according to the evidence of Pl.-N. forms, is strongly affected by adjacent *i*- and *e*-areas, yet there is little doubt that Herts. itself is an *u*-area. Furthermore, the original *u*-type asserts itself more and more strongly during the M.E. period, and gradually but steadily the proportion of *u*-forms increases. Thus in the 12th c. the *u*-forms amount to 42 per cent. of the total, in the 13th c. this has increased to 54 per cent., in the 14th c. to 69 per cent., and in the 15th c. to 76 per cent. It is evident, then, that there was a gradual spread of the *u*-type within Herts. generally. It is possible, too, that this was encouraged by the presence of the large *u*-area of Bucks. (Mawer, *Bucks. Pl.-Ns.*)

§ **317.** In the small *u-i* area in South Herts., which lies on the Middlex. border, there is a gradual increase in the proportion of *u*-forms to *i*-forms:

	u	*i*
13th c.	20	9
14th c.	28	9
15th c.	37	9

This increase in the proportion of *u*-forms in Herts., and especially in South Herts., coupled with the great increase of *u*-forms compared with *i*-forms in Middlex. during the same period (§ 313) suggests a connexion between the two.

§ **318. Summary.**

(1) O.E. *ȳ* is *e* in the City dialect and *i* in the Middlex. dialect in M.E.

(2) The *u*-forms found in Later London are to be regarded as a new type introduced from another area.

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(3) This area may have been Herts., which is in direct contact with Middlex. and which is an *u*-area throughout the M.E. period.

(4) Furthermore, the evidence of Pl.-Ns. indicates that there was an increase in *u*-forms in both Herts. and Middlex. at about the same period.

5. *i, y* from O.E. *ēag, ēah* in the Later London Dialect

§ **319.** In the Later London dialect both *ey*- and *y*-forms occur in words with O.E. *ēag, ēah*. The diphthongal *ey*-type is original, but *y*-forms do not appear in documents until the late 14th c.

§ **320.** There is no evidence of the *y*-type in the City dialect, yet in the Essex dialect proper, according to the evidence of Pl.-N. forms, the *i*-type was known as early as the middle of the 13th c. (§ 210).

§ **321.** The evidence of Pl.-N. forms on the early existence of the *i*-type in Essex is supported by rhymes in the (probably Essex) Romances—Arth. & Merl., Kyng Alisaund., and Rich. In these texts, words with O.E. *ēag, ēah* rhyme with M.E. *ī* as well as with M.E. *ey*:

Arth. & Merl.: *heiȝe—apie*, 1152; *hye—aspie*, 3805; *heiȝe—vilanie*, 2354.
eyin—yseyn, 8509; *eiȝen—yseiȝen*, 8501; *heiȝe—oway*, 6845.
Kyng Alisaund.: *nigh—anoye* (*anye*), 6116.
hygh—wey, 6253; *—contray*, 7143; *dye—play*, 3444.
Rich.: *yghe—lye*, 3565; *eye—slye*, 3708; *dye—crye*, 4644.
deye—preye, 6332; *—weye*, 6763.

§ **322.** By the 15th c. the Essex documents have only *i*-forms (with the exception of *eye, eyen, eyon* in Pallad., Struever, p. 57; and *neebeugers* in the Cely Papers, Kihlbom, p. 37):

Pallad.: *eye—die*, 22; *hie—drie*, 12; *high*, 12; *higher*, 5; *nygh—sigh*, 28; *nygh*, 9.
Burgh: *hih*, 51, 59, 60, 64, &c.; *hihest*, 57.
Cely Pprs.: *hye* (2); *nye* (3); (*n*)*y*. Süssbier, p. 47.

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§ 323. Since the *i*-type is established in Essex in the M.E. period, it seems very likely that the *i*-forms in the Later London dialect may have penetrated from this area—presuming, of course, that the City dialect did not share with Essex in the early development to *i* in M.E.

§ 324. **Summary.**

(1) The evidence indicates that in Middlex. and probably in the City O.E. *ēag, ēah* became *ey*.

(2) The Later London dialect has both *ey*- and *i*-, *y*-forms.

(3) There is evidence from both Pl.-N. forms and from texts that the Essex dialect developed the raised *i*-type in the M.E. period, at least as early as the 13th c.

(4) The probability is that the *i*-, *y*-forms in Later London penetrated from Essex; this may have taken place during the 14th c.

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V. NOTES ON THE DISTRIBUTION

OF SOME M.E. DIALECT FEATURES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE S.E. AND S.E. MIDLAND AREAS

1. E.M.E. *a* before and after lip-consonants

§ 325. E.M.E. *a* before *v* occasionally appears as *o* in the Norfolk texts Gen. & Ex. (*govel*) and the Promptum Parvulorum (*goul*); Morsbach, *Mitteleng. Gram.*, p. 119. *Novyl* occurs in the Essex text Arth. & Merl.; Jordan, § 29, Anm. 1. Luick (§ 368) places this change before the 13th c.; he agrees with Morsbach in regarding the occasional *o*-forms as genuine, and not as due to a 'schreibfehler', as Dibelius suggests (Anglia, xxiii, p. 178).

§ 326. In the late fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries, spellings of *o* for E.M.E. *a* occur before and after other lip-consonants besides *v* (cf. Zachrisson, *English Vowels*, p. 62). The Pl.-N. Graveley in Herts. is sometimes given in M.E. documents as *Grovele* (1355, 1452 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i, p. 311). Similar forms are found in the Lynn Gilds of Norfolk, 87 (*hove*), and in the Paston Lett., quoted by Zachrisson, *Engl. Vowels*, p. 62 (*reword*, *Voluntyne*, *Wolsyngham*). The Suffolk-born Gregory has *Volantynys* (173); the Herts. St. Albans Chron. has *boron*, 'baron', 193 v.; *botell*, *botaill*, 'battle', 65 r., 213 v., 243 r.; *wos* 1 v., 2 r., &c. (cf. an inverted spelling *Martimer*, 189 r.). The Cely Pprs. (Essex) have *borell*, 'barrel', 62, *fordell*, 'burden', 172, *whor*, 'war', 27, *whord*, 'toward', 173, *wos*, *wus*, passim.

§ 327. This rounding of E.M.E. *a* seems to have been a dialectal peculiarity, as there is no trace of it in the London docs. of the fifteenth century or before. Occasional forms of *wos*, *wus* in these sources arise from lack of stress. The existence of a rounded vowel of provincial origin side by side with

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an unrounded vowel in the London dialect may possibly explain the difference of opinion among grammarians and others on the quality of this vowel (Wyld, *Mod. Coll. Engl.*, pp. 202–3).

2. O.E. *a* + nasal

§ 328. O.E. *a* + nasal appears generally as *an*, *am* in M.E. texts of the S.E. and S.E. Midlands. A few M.E. texts from this area, however, show traces of a rounded *on-*, *om-*type. Jordan (§ 30, Anm.) explains isolated *on*-forms in the O. & N. as 'literarische Austrahlungen des *o*-Gebietes' of the west, and Morsbach (p. 120) similarly accounts for the forms *monheþ* in Shoreham and *monnys* in the London docs. (*Ursprung*, p. 29).

I have noted a few *on*-forms in S.E. Midl. texts in which influence from the west seems improbable. These forms are fairly common in the probably Suffolk texts Fl. & Blaunch. (*can—ston*, 290; *bigon*, Pret. Sing. —*anon*, 594; *mon—on*, 251, 407; —*anon*, 628; *mon*, 698; *nom*, Pret. Sing. —*com*, 598; *þonki*, 353, 541; *þonkede*, 808), and Octov. (*con*, 1025; *begon*, 1226; *thonked(e)*, 1155, 1775). A few *on*-forms also occur in the Essex texts Rich. (*I cone—wone*, 3116; *mon*, 2462) and St. Patrik's P. (*mon*, 100).

§ 329. A few examples of *on*, &c., occur in the early Modern period in the Lynn Gilds (*mon*, p. 69), in Lydgate (*I konne —begon*, P. P., Thebes, 3545; *can—won*, Pret. Pl., Pilgrim., 18161; *thonkyng*, Thebes, 2417; *thonk*, Pilgrim., 183), in the Herts. St. Albans Chron. (*onser*, 86 v.; *ownsuar*, 93 v.; *thonked*, 64 r.), and in the Essex Pallad. (*mon*, 1; *thonk*, 159) and Cely Pprs. (*con*, 6, 47; *connot*, 50; *kon*, 105). Gregory, too, has several such forms (*fronkelaynys*, 88; *Loncaschyre*, 208; *Lonkesschyre*, 232; *mony*, 221; *thonkyd*, 108, 159, 215; *thonked*, 179; *thonke*, noun, 222).

There seems to be no genuine example of the *on*-type in the London docs. Pret. Sing. forms like *gon*, *begon*, *ronne* in Chaucer (see Wild, p. 42) and Caxton (Römstedt, p. 10) are

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due to the analogy of the Pret. Pl. and Past. Part.; *thonke* (Ellis, *Letters*, i, p. 10, and Gower, Fahrenberg, p. 400) and *slonked* (Caxton, Römstedt, p. 10) are explained by Luick (§ 369) and Jordan (§ 30, Anm.) as rounded forms from L.O.E. *a* lengthened before South-Eastern (? Kentish) *y* from *nk*.

§ **330**. To summarize the above paragraphs, we may say that while O.E. *a* + nasal generally appears in M.E. texts of the S.E. and S.E. Midl. as *an*, &c., there are traces of *on*-forms in Suffolk and Essex texts in M.E., and in Norfolk (Lynn), Suffolk, Herts., and Essex texts of the late fourteenth and of the fifteenth centuries. Genuine *on*-forms, however, do not seem to occur in London docs. at any time during the M.E. period.

3. The O.E. *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal

§ **331**. The O.E. *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal appears in M.E. as *an*, &c., within a small and fairly well-defined area in the S.E. Midl. The evidence of M.E. Pl.-N. forms indicates that the *an*-type was characteristic not only of the City (§ 7) and Essex (§ 11), but of East Herts. and of South and East Beds. From the Herts. records I have noted the following Pl.-N. forms with *an*: *Aspedane*, 13th c. Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Benhamdane* (Westmill), no date, Cat. Ant. Dds. iv; *Bordesdan* (Braughing), no dates, ib. i, iii, iv; *Esendane*, 1241 Rotl. Hund.; *Wandlingeton* (Wallington), 13th c. Cal. Inq. P. M. i. Similar Pl.-N. forms from Beds. are: *Erthendane* (in south), 1327 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Ernendedane*, 1337 ib. iii; *Erserendane*, 1337 ib. ii; *Longdane* (Biggleswade), no date, ib. ii; *Schortdane* (do.), no date, ib. ii; *Fancot* (Houghton), 1225 F. F.; *Fancotepath*, 1303 Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; *Fanforlang*, 1200 F. F.; 1350 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Fannemede* (Ampthill), 1432 ib. vi; *Widefan* (Beeston), 1307 ib. vi; 1338 ib. iii; 1340 ib. vi; 1345 ib. iii. (Cf. also Morsbach, *Mitteleng. Gram.*, p. 142; Luick, § 363, Anm. 2; Jordan, § 50; Heuser, pp. 39–41.)

§ **332**. The *en*-type (*fenne*, *-dene*, *Wend-*, *end*) is charac-

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teristic of the Pl.-Ns. of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambs., Hunts., and Bucks., as well as of Middlex. (§ 22).

Zachrisson (*Engl. Studien*, 59, pp. 346 . . .) suggests the possibility of original *an*-forms in Kent. The evidence on this point, however, is not entirely satisfactory. The 11th c. forms quoted from D. B. reflect the City, rather than the Kentish, dialect type, and it is not till the 14th c. that such forms as *Dane*, *Darindane*, *Fanne*, &c., occur. In addition to the *an*-forms given by Zachrisson, I have noted: *Dane*, 1359 Cat. Ant. Dds. v; *Darindane*, no date, ib. iii; *Fanne*, 1357 Cal. Inq. P. M. x; 1436 F. A. iii. These *an*-forms are probably due to the influence of the City-Essex dialect, working through Surrey. In the Ayenb. of Inwit (1340) similar *an*-forms are found—*pans*, *paneworpes*, *dane*, *danes* (Dolle, p. 19).

Surrey seems to have belonged originally to the *en*-area. *Wandlesurth*, &c., occurs early and persistently (e. g. 1200 C. R. Rlls. i; t. early Hen. III B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i; 1236 Cl. Rlls. iii, &c.), but this place is situated on the Thames, close to London. It is not till 1349 that I have noted another *an*-form in *Fanne* (Cal. Inq. P. M. ix) near Godalming. With this it is interesting to compare the rhyme *wranne*, 'wren'—*manne* in O. & N. 563. (See Wyld, *Essays and Studies*, vi. 141.)

§ **333.** Other M.E. texts which show traces of *an*-forms are Arth. & Merl. (*vplondismen* (Pl.)—*fram*, 5272; *wante*—*Nante*, 4364), Kyng Alisaund. (*men* (Pl.)—*can*, 963; *men* (Pl.)—*tyranne*, 7498; *sente*—*Meopante*, 6197; *went*—*undurstandt*, 1136), Cnut's Laws (*Dana*, i/65; *pænega*, A ii/30, 2), the Gospels (*campan*, R.L. 7/8; *dana*, R.H.L. 3/5; *panig*, H.L. 20/24; *panige*, R.H.Mt. 10/29; *panege*, R.L. 7/41), and Peri Didax. (*manniscen*, p. 3; *panize*, p. 9).

§ **334.** Pl.-N. forms with *en* appear in Beds. from 1230 and in Herts. rather later (*c.* 1340). From Beds. I have noted *Chercheende* (Southill), 1381 Cat. Ant. Dds. v; *Temesford*, 1230 Cl. Rlls. i; 1293 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii; 1412 F. A. vi; from

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Herts. *Berethend*, 1395 Liber Benefac. 431; *Meddlesdenc* (Hitchin), t. Ed. I B.M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; 1365 Cal. Ch. Rlls.; *Wenleye* (Standon), 1341 Cal. Inq. P. M. viii. Forms with *en* first appear in London in the late 13th c. (§ 9). In Essex the early *en*-forms occur as a rule either on the Suffolk-Cambs. border (§ 12) near Colchester and Boxtead, or in the extreme south near Aveley, Orsett, and Tilbury. Forms with *an* are still common in Essex Pl.-Ns. in the 14th c., and they survive even till the fifteenth century. By the middle of the 14th c., however, *an*-forms seem to have disappeared from Beds. and Herts. Pl.-Ns. For *en* in the Pl.-N. forms of London, see §§ 9, 223 (b).

4. O.E. æ from W.G. a

§ **335.** It has already been shown that O.E. æ was raised to *e* in the Middlex. dialect in L.O.E. (§ 31) but retracted to *a* in the City and Essex (§§ 25, 27). During the M.E. period the retracted *a*-type is characteristic of the whole Central and S.E. Midland area, with the exception of Middlex. The history of *e* (by the late raising of æ) in Middlex. has already been given (§§ 31–6). Beside the texts there discussed, others which show this Middlex. characteristic are the Herb. Apul. (*feðma*, *ȝeberned*, *hrefnes*, *sceb*, *þes*, Berberich, p. 25) and the Peri Didax. (*hnesce*, 27, 31, 45, &c.)

§ **336.** In both Kent and Surrey, O.E. æ was raised to *e* in the O.E. period itself. The Surrey Charter regularly has *e* for O.E. æ (Wyld, *Essays and Studies*, vi, pp. 129–31); the Chertsey Ch. has *e* (*Epse*, 988 (2); *et*, 812 (6); *herefterward*, 987; *hechche*, 987 (2); *kneppe*, 987; *ðes*, 856, 987 (4); *ðet*, 849, 987; *weteres*, 987) but also æ (*æceres*, 844; *æt*, 812 (17), 987 (4); *Æpse*, 812; *ðæt*, 849 (2), 850 (2), 987; *wæs*, 987; *æpeldure*, 987 (2)) and *a* (*at*, 812 (2), 844, 856, 987; *habbe*, 844 (2), 848, 987; *ðat*, 844 (2), 848, 849, 856 (3), 987 (7)). The O. & N. has generally *a* (*after*, *appel*, *aþele*, *spac*, &c.; 110 examples) but occasionally *e* (*bihedde*, *cweð*, *wicchecrefte*, *ðet*, *nes*; 21 examples).

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The Kentish texts of Shoreham and the Ayenb. of Inwit have a large number of *e*-forms, and the latest survivals of the genuine *e*-type I have noted occur in a Kentish document of 1371 (Flasdieck, p. 103)—*efter*, *hedde*, *wes*.

5. O.E. *æl* + *d*

§ 337. The evidence of M.E. Pl.-N. forms indicates that the original fracture area was fairly large. It has already been shown that this area included the City (§ 65), Essex (§ 69), Middlex. (§ 80), Herts. (§ 283), Kent (§ 286), and Surrey (§ 288).

Beds. also belonged to the fracture area, according to the evidence of the following Pl.-N. forms: *Chaldewelle*, 1225 F. F.; no date, Cat. Ant. Dds. vi; *Chalvele*, 1219 F. F.; *Chalcombe*, 1325 Cal. Inq. P. M. vi; *Chalkgrave*, 1239 F. F., &c.; *Chalfhamstede*, 1359 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i, ii, &c.; *Chalvesterne*, 1202 F. F., &c.; *Chauton*, 1202 C. R. Rlls. ii, &c.; *Heldehull*, 1241 F. F.; *Eldemodercroft*, 1259 ib. Pl.-Ns. showing the unfractured type are comparatively rare, and may perhaps be explained as due to influence from the non-fracture area of Cambs., or they may represent alternative forms with early shortening: *Caldecot*, 1202 F. F., &c.; *Caldewelle*, 1252 Great Pipe Rll.; *Calfwellehamme* (Wrestlingworth), 1256 (twice) F. F.; *Faldho*, 1313 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i.

Hunts. Pl.-Ns. show a fair number of fracture forms: *Eldbyristode*, 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; *Eldlode*, 1316–42 Ramsey Ch.; *eeldelode*, 1342 ib.; *Eldwoldeshey*, 13th c. Rotl. Hund.; 1299, 1301 B.M. Ch. & Rlls.; early 14th c. Ramsey Ch.; *Chelfrehecche*, 1146 ib.; *Chelueremare*, 1146 ib.; *Chalueremere*, 1146 ib.; *Chalpithanadyn*, 1281 Rotl. Hund.; *welde*, 1244 Ramsey Ch.; 1281 Rotl. Hund.; early 14th c. Ramsey Ch.; 1410 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i. Pl.-N. forms showing the unfractured type are, however, fairly common: *Caldecote*, 1286 Rotl. Hund., &c.; *Kaldemowehath*, early 14th c. Ramsey Ch., &c.; *Caldewelle*,

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15th c. Colch. Ch.; *Caluerecroft*, 1252 Ramsey Ch.; *Calvercwode*, 1316 ib.; *Calfo*, 1281 Rotl. Hund.; *Aldebyrislade*, early 14th c. Ramsey Ch.; *Holdedole*, early 14th c. ib.; *Holdheyre*, early 14th c. ib.; *Faldwic*, 1286 Rotl. Hund.; *Harewold*, 1242 Fees i.; *Longewolde*, early 14th c. Ramsey Ch.; *Waterwolde*, 1252 ib.; *Wolde*, 1316 F. A., &c.; *Waldhirst*, 1185 Ramsey Ch., &c.; *Walde Weston*, 1316 F. A., &c.

§ **338.** Hunts. seems to have been a border county, originally belonging to the fracture area, but strongly influenced at an early date by surrounding non-fracture areas. Cambs., Norfolk, and Suffolk, which form a compact group to the east, are pure non-fracture areas.

Cambs. has only the fracture type: *Caldecote*, 1281 Rotl. Hund., &c.; *Coldham*, 13th c. Mem. Barnwell Church, &c.; *Caldewell*, 1281 Rotl. Hund.; *Aldewincle*, 13th c. Mem. Barnwell Church; *Aldestrete*, 1281 Rotl. Hund.; *Calwyscroft*, 1281 ib.

Norfolk Pl.-Ns. showing the unfractured type are: *Baldrusella*, 1163 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i, &c.; *Calcote*, 1429 ib.; *Caldecote*, 1229 Cl. Rlls., &c.; *Coldhim*, 1330 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Coldham yerd*, 1384 ib. i; *Aldebi*, 1327 Cal. Inq. P. M. i, &c.; *Aldeburgh*, 1338 ib. i; *Aldeham*, 1346 F. A.; *Oldecroft*, 1350 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Oldegate*, 13th c. ib. i; *Gosewold*, 1254 Norw. Tax.; *Ockewolde*, 1281 Rotl. Hund., &c.; *Methelwolde*, 1254 Norw. Tax., &c.; *Northwolde*, 1254 ib., &c. Quite exceptional are the possible fracture forms *Eldemersh*, 1321 Cat. Ant. Dds. i and *Northweld*, 1291 Tax. Eccles.

Suffolk Pl.-N. forms showing absence of fracture are: *Caldcotes*, 1281 Rotl. Hund., &c.; *Caldenhowehel*, 1316 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; *Caldewell*, 1296 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Aldeburgh*, 1316 F. A., &c.; *Aldebourghton*, 1313 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; *Aldefreche*, 1281 Rotl. Hund., &c.; *Aldham*, 1316 F. A., &c.; *Oldallefeld*, 1242 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Olddefrith*, 1306 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Holdehawe*, 1281 Rotl. Hund.; *Olddemor*, 1270 Cal. Inq. P. M. i, &c.; *Olde Neuton*, 1341 Non. Inq., &c.; *Oldton*, 1341

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ib.; *Oldewode*, 1269 Cal. Inq. P. M. i; *Brychtwaldesfeld*, 1285 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii, &c.; *Suthwald*, 1281 Rotl. Hund., &c. A few fracture forms occur. An early example is *Heldemede*, 1272 Cal. Inq. P. M. i. This place lies on the borders of Essex, near Hadleigh, and its form must be due to influence from the Essex dialect. Other forms, considerably later, are *Eldventon*, 1336 Rotl. Orig.; *Eldeneuton*, 1345 ib.; *Eld hauen*, 1405 Suff. doc. in Flasdieck, *Mitteleng. Originalurk.*, p. 34.

Bucks., to the west of the area under consideration, belongs to the non-fracture group (§ 291).

6. O.E. ǣ¹ and ǣ²

§ 339. The history of O.E. ǣ¹ and ǣ² during the M.E. period appears to have been identical in the area under consideration, and the two will here be discussed together.

§ 340. It has already been shown that ǣ¹ and ǣ² were both retracted to ā in the City (§§ 83, 106) and in Essex (§§ 86, 107). Heuser (*Alt-London*, p. 37) comes to the conclusion that ā is characteristic of Essex, Middlex., Herts., Beds., Hunts., and perhaps Cambs., but, from the evidence already given (§§ 94–9), it is clear that Middlex. did not belong to the ā-area.

The Herts. Pl.-N. forms generally have ā for O.E. ǣ. Besides the forms given by Heuser (p. 39) I have noted: *Bolemad*, 1325 Cal. Inq. P. M. vi; *Castlemad*, 1324 ib. vi; *Chirchestrate*, 1400 Gest. Abbat. St. Alb.; *Dagnalstrate*, 1310 ib.; *Eywodemade*, 1400 ib.; *Fisshpolstrate*, 1310 ib.; *Fouer-acremade*, 1272 Quo Warr.; *Hempwellemade*, 1272 ib.; *Hormade*, 1295 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii, &c.; *Halywellestrate*, 1400 Gest. Abbat. St. Alb.; *Kyngesmad*, 1324 Cal. Inq. P. M. vi; *Lokemade*, 1272 Quo Warr.; *Madecroft*, 1330 Cal. Inq. P. M. vii; *Mulnmade*, 1400 Gest. Abbat. St. Alb.; *Murihelstrate*, 1280 Merton Recs. 2069; *Parkstrate*, 1400 Gest. Abbat. St. Alb.; *Reckemad*, 1272 Quo Warr.; *Swythmad*, 1272 ib.; *Thonemad*, 1198 Pipe Rlls.; *Watliggestrate*, t. Ed. I B.M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; *Wathamsted*, 1164, 1165 Pipe Rlls., &c.

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Beds. Pl.-Ns. show a fair number of *ā*-forms (see also Heuser, p. 40): *Akermannestrate*, 1311 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; *Astillesmade*, 1200 F. F.; *Birsemade*, t. Hen. III B.M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; *Coulase*, 1360 Cal. Inq. P. M. x; *Oxlase*, 1360 ib. x; *Lithlemade*, 1207 F. F.; *Schortemade*, 1333 Cal. Inq. P. M. vii; *Smethmade*, 1197 F. F.; *Sudmade*, 1197 ib.; *Wrothath*, 13th c. Rotl. Hund.

Hunts. seems to belong to the area where *ǣ* was retracted to *ā*. In addition to Heuser's material (p. 40) I have noted: *Madecroft*, *Madedich*, *Nortmad*, *Redmad*, *Woldmad*, all in the 13th c. Rotl. Hund., and *Clanehylle*, *Kaldermowehath* in the 14th c. Ramsey Ch.

The evidence for Cambs. on this point is ambiguous. The *made*-forms quoted by Heuser (p. 41) do not occur before the 14th c., but I have noted *Brademede*, 1297 Cal. Inq. P. M. iii, *Flaxmedwe*, 1281 Rotl. Hund., and *-strete* several times in the 13th c. Mem. Barnwell Church. Early forms with *-strate* are common, however: *Armstate*, *Brodestate*, *Fenstate*, *Milnestrate*, *Wlvestrate* in the Rotl. Hund. (1281), *Ruestrate*, *Thenestrate*, *Yeuestrate* from the 13th c. Mem. Barnwell Church, and *Londonestrate*, t. Hen. II B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i. I have also noted *Landwate* (Fordham), 1341 Non. Inq.

The area within which O.E. *ǣ* was retracted to *ā* appears to have included the City, Essex, Herts., Beds., Hunts., and perhaps Cambs. For occasional *ā*-forms in the Pl.-Ns. of areas other than these see § 344.

§ 341. The chief texts in which O.E. *ǣ* appears as *ā* are the Essex Lyrics, St. Alex., Arth. & Merl., Kyng Alisaund., Rich., St. Patrik's P., Seven Sages (§§ 298, 307), V. & V. (§§ 86, 107), the Westm. Ch. (§§ 91, 112), the Herb. Apul. (*lacedom*, *lat*, *ondrade*, *slapen*, *ðar*, *alc*, *arest*, *clane*, *dale*, *ȝehalan*, Berberich, p. 20), the Gospels (*forlaten*, R.L. 22/22; *lacehus*, R.L. 10/34; *slape*, H.L. 9/32; *sprace*, R.J. 7/30; *forstalen*, R.Mt. 28/13; *þar*, R.L. 3/4; *whar*, R.Mc. 14/9; *arest*, H.Mt. 12/29; *afre*, H.Mt. 13/5; *hal*, R.H.Mt. 21/9; *sa*, R.J. 7/30; &c.), Cnut's

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Laws (*dade*, ii 5, 4; *maðe*, ii 5, 4; *nare*, ii 62, 2; *gesalig*, ii 84, 2; *sprace*, i 5a; *ware*, i 18a; *afre*, i 1, 17; *alc*, i 22; *arest*, i 12; *dalum*, i 11, 1; *haðene*, ii 5, 1; *larað*, i 31; *tace*, ii 28, 1; &c.), Moral Ode, Trin. MS. (*dade*, 3, 10 . . .; *drade*, 6; *rade*, 4, 90; *strate*, 235; *hale*, 201; *haðene*, 295; *laden*, 399; *tached*, 305; &c.), and Peri Didax. (*braden*, 15; *lace*, 9, 19, 21, 23 . . .; *slapad*, 33; *þar*, 5, 7, 11 . . .; *wate*, 9, 21; *arest*, 27; *clane*, 51; *dales*, 47; *halen*, 31; &c.). For *ā*-forms in Chertsey Ch., see § 344.

§ **342.** These *ā*-forms occur frequently in 12th and 13th c. Pl.-Ns. and texts. By the 14th c. the *ā*-forms have disappeared from the texts, and *ē* is used instead, but in 14th c. Pl.-N. forms *ā* is still very common. By the 15th c., however, *ā*-forms in Pl.-Ns. are found in Essex and Herts. only.

§ **343.** During the M.E. period, O.E. *ǣ* appears as slack [ɛ̄] in Middlex., but as tense [ē] in the rest of the area under consideration. There are indications, however, that *ǣ*[2] may have developed into slack [ɛ̄] in some parts of Surrey, for the O. & N. has a rhyme *brede—stede*, O.E. *stēde*, 965, and a few *ea*-spellings: *ear*, 1637, *eaver*, C 1474, *neav'*, C 1441, *sea*, 1205, *teache*, C 1449.

§ **344.** Throughout the rest of the S.E. and S.E. Midland area the tense [ē]-type prevailed in M.E. The Norfolk texts Gen. & Ex. and the Best. have only tense rhymes (§§ 296, 304), and the same is true of the Suffolk writers Bokenam and Lydgate. The two probable Suffolk texts Fl. & Blaunch. and Octov. have tense rhymes only—e.g. *bere*, 'bier'—*dere*, 14, and *were—here*, 'here', 604, in the former, and *dede*, 'deed'—*fede*, 414, *drede—nede*, 551, &c., in the latter. The development of *ǣ* to *ē* must have occurred early in Suffolk, for the Bury Charters of the late 10th c. already write *mēge*, &c.

Tense [ē] is also characteristic of the M.E. Kentish dialect (Luick, § 117; Wyld, *Mod. Coll. Eng.*, p. 41, &c.) and of the Surrey dialect generally (Wyld, *Essays and Studies*, vi, pp. 140–1).

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A few *ā*-forms occur in the Pl.-Ns. of counties where tense [ē] is the rule. In Suffolk I have noted *Madewell* (Bures), 1327 F. A. vi, and *Pilecokedunestrate* (Hadleigh), 1291 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii, both near Essex. Other rare *ā*-forms in Suffolk Pl.-Ns. are *Bredmad*, *Riedmad* (Dallinghoe), no date, Cat. Ant. Dds. iv, v; *Watecroft*, Rotl. Hund.; *Watefeld*, 1203 C. R. Rlls. ii, &c.; *Watelaund*, early 13th c. B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i.

For Norfolk I have noted *Holmst*^{a}*te*, 1281 Rotl. Hund.; *Suthathe* (Kenninghall), 1283 Cal. Inq. P. M. iv; *Whatacre* (Lowestoft), 1330 ib. vii.

Kent has the obviously foreign *ā* very rarely: *Stanstrate* (Lympne), 1035 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; *Strate*, 1203 C. R. Rlls. ii; *Stylemade* (Hoo), 1371 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii; *Hathewoldenne*, 1316 F. A. iii, &c.; *Watacra*, t. Hen. III B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Hathefeld*, 1316 F. A. iii.

In Surrey I have found the probably genuine forms *Madebroke* (Rotherhithe), 1314 Cat. Ant. Dds. v, and *Westrate* (Southwark), 1170 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. ii. Both these places lie close to the *ā*-area of London, near London Bridge, which from a very early date connected the City with Surrey. It is possible that this part of Surrey formed an outlying portion of the *ā*-area. It is curious that the Chertsey Ch. has several *ā*-forms: *made*, 844; *rade*, 848, 850; *strate*, 987 (5 times); *ðare*, 844 (twice); *aniȝ*, 856; (*h*)*ar*, 844; *arest*, 987; *ðare*, Gen. Sing., 844 (twice), 987 (4 times); *ðarre*, 850.

7. O.E. *y̆*

§ **345.** All three types *e*, *i*, and *u* are found for O.E. *y̆* in the S.E. and S.E. Midland area (including Herts., Beds., &c.). Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambs., and Essex-City form one main group, where *i* and *e* are the main forms, *i* being typical of the North, *e* of the South.

(a) **Norfolk** is mainly an *i*-county, but a fair number of *e*-forms occur in Pl.-Ns. of the westerly Lynn area. My statistics are as follows:

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	e	*i*	*u*
13th c.	12	52	9
14th c.	20	79	5
15th c.	3	9	3

Beside the more usual *i*, a fair number of *e*-forms occur in the Norf. Gilds from Lynn: *bery*, 115; *bereynge*, 117; *beriynge*, 51, 113; *beryyng*, 115; *beryn*, 50; *beried*, 51; *beryid*, 88; *ferst*, 54, 55; *ketchen*, 120. Capgrave, who also comes from Lynn, frequently uses the *e*-type: *besi*, 6; *besily*, 21; *besinesse*, 19; *evel*, 5; *kechyn*, 47; *mery*, 10; *ster*, 54; *stert*, 21 (all in St. August.). Out of 44 *e*-forms which occur in Norf. docs. of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, 31 occur in docs. from Lynn.

(b) **Cambs.** may be classified as an *i*(*e*) area:

	e	*i*	*u*
12th c.	1	3	1
13th c.	29	242	8
14th c.	4	11	1
15th c.	–	16	–

(c) **Suffolk** is an $\frac{e}{i}$ area throughout the M.E. period:

	e	*i*	*u*
12th c.	3	1	2
13th c.	59	56	8
14th c.	64	38	16
15th c.	2	1	–

The *e*-forms in Suffolk show a tendency to increase during M.E., and in the 15th c. texts *e* likewise increases as time passes. Thus Lydgate (early 15th c.) has roughly the proportion 3 *i* to 2 *e*. Bokenam (1443) has about 6 *i* to 5 *e*; and the late 15th c. Bury Wills have more *e* than *i* (about 4 *e* to 3 *i*).

(d) The history of O.E. *ȳ* in **Essex** has already been discussed in detail. The usual form is *e*, but *i* is not uncommon, and *u* also occurs occasionally (§§ 135–9).

§ 346. A second group includes Hunts., Beds., and Herts.;

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here *u* rather than *e* is the alternative form to *i*. **Bucks.**, according to Mawer (*Pl.-Ns.*), belongs to this group, as does **Middlex.** in the early period (§§ 142–54, 313–14).

(a) **Hunts.** Pl.-Ns. generally have *i*, but there are a fair number of *u*-forms:

	e	*i*	*u*
12th c.	2	–	1
13th c.	1	34	17
14th c.	9	168	29
15th c.	1	3	5

(b) **Beds.** is an *u* (*i*, *e*) area:

	e	*i*	*u*
12th c.	2	1	3
13th c.	18	40	101
14th c.	6	13	112
15th c.	3	15	26

(c) **Herts.**, as has already been shown, was an *u*-area, though strongly influenced by the *e*-area of Essex on the east, and the *i*-areas of Cambs. and later of Middlex. (§§ 315–17).

(d) To the $\frac{i}{u}$ **Middlex.** area may perhaps belong the Herb. Apul. and the Peri Didax. O.E. y̆ appears occasionally as *i* or *u*, besides *y*; the dialect may represent an easterly variety of early Middlex.

§ **347.** South of the Thames, **Surrey** is linked with the more Central *u*-group (§ 346), and this county appears to have been an *u*- (*i*-, *e*-) area:

	e	*i*	*u*
12th c.	5	1	1
13th c.	12	15	38
14th c.	11	12	62
15th c.	–	2	12

The old Surrey Ch. still writes *y*, but the Chertsey Ch. has *u* as a rule (*brugge*, 987; *hulle*, 987; *mulle*, 987; *munstre*, 844;

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-hurst, 987, &c.—47 examples). Forms with *i* occur in *king*, 844; *-brigge*, 532, &c. (11 examples), and *e* in *cherche*, 844; *menechene*, 987.

The O. & N. has *u* almost exclusively (*bruche*, 1368; *cunne*, 65; *luste*, 39; *mulne*, 86; *fuste*, 1538; *lutel*, 561, &c.). Forms with *i* and *e* are rare.

§ 348. **Kent** belongs to the more easterly group (§ 345), and the Pl.-N. evidence shows that it is a persistent *e*-area, though *i* and *u* occur from the 13th c., as in Essex:

	e	*i*	*u*
12th c.	4	1	–
13th c.	95	61	44
14th c.	165	63	22
15th c.	49	9	8

The M.E. Kentish texts—Vesp. Homs., Ayenb. of Inwit, &c.—have, of course, *e* almost exclusively (Wyld, *Essays and Studies*, vi, pp. 129–30).

8. O.E. *ēa*.

§ 349. O.E. *ēa* became slack [ɛ̄] in most M.E. dialects, but developed into tense [ē] within a small area. The history of this special development has been discussed in detail elsewhere (*Englische Studien*, 61 (3)), but some additional evidence from occasional spellings bearing on this point may be added here.

(a) In two early 12th c. texts showing Essex dialect features (*ā* for *ǣ*, &c.) there is a confusion in spelling between *ēo* and *ēa*. The earliest MS. of Cnut's Laws (MS. Harl. 55, about 1120) writes *deoðscyldig*, A ii 44, but *deapum*, A i 18, and *hleape*, Pret. Sing., A ii 31 a. The 12th c. Gospels write *heofod*, R.Mt. 5/36, R.Mc. 15/9; *heofed*, H.Mt. 14/8; but *ðeades*, R.L. 22/25. This confusion suggests that in the dialect represented by these texts there could have been only a slight difference in quality between the monophthongized vowels from *ēo* and *ēa* respectively, i. e. the latter was at that time [ɛ̄] rather than *ǣ*, the former being [ē].

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ē from *ēa* does not seem to have reached the tense stage by 1200, for in V. & V. O.E. *ēa* appears as *e* or *ea*, never as *ie*, the regular symbol in this text for tense [ē]. Schmidt's form *bienen*, 'beans', is incorrect. The MS. reading is *benē* (f. 14 v., 9).

(b) From the 15th c. onwards there are indications that *ē* from *ēa* underwent raising in certain areas to *ī*. In the Herts. Boke of St. Albans, on *Hunting* (1486), occurs *lip*, infinitive (p. 25), and in the 16th c. Wyld (*Mod. Coll. Eng.*, p. 209) has noted *lipe* from Ascham (1545) and *birive* from Harvey (1573–80). The earliest *i*-spellings for M.E. [ē] from *ĕ* lengthened occur only from 1550 onward (Wyld, op. cit., 209; Zachrisson, *Engl. Vowels*, 69). This evidence of the early raising of *ē* from *ēa*, though slight, is added confirmation that the quality of the vowel in M.E. was tense in certain areas.

§ **350.** It has already been suggested that O.E. *ēa* became tense [ē] in the M.E. dialects of Suffolk and Essex (*Engl. Studien*, 61 (3)). The early example of *ī* for O.E. *ēa* in the Boke of St. Albans indicates that Herts. probably belonged to this tense [ē]-area as well, at least in the late M.E. period.

It is significant, too, that Ascham (*lipe*) spent his childhood and youth in the household of Sir Anthony Wingfield, a Suffolk gentleman (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*), and that Harvey was born in the Saffron Walden area in Essex (ib.).

9. O.E. *ĕa-i*

§ **351.** Except in Middlex. documents, O.E. *ĕa-i* regularly appears as *ĕ* in M.E.

In the probable Middlex. text Peri Didax. both *i*- and *u*-forms occur: *wixt*, 5; *wille*, 25; *nid*, 11; *cicen*, 33, 35; and *wurnne*, 27, 29; *wull*, 9; *wullewæter*, 9; *wuxt*, 19; *byfuld*, 13; *hulde*, 51; *smure*, 27; *aluste*, 3; *atuwde*, 5. In Cnut's Laws (? East Middlex. or City London), *ēa-i* appears as *i* and *e*: *fliman*, ii 66; *gime*, i 19; *hiran*, i 6, 1; *nihstan*, ii 73 a; *nihste*, ii 71, 1; and *ned*, i 7; *alefed*, ii 38; *reperas*, ii 7.

§ **352.** In Pl.-Ns. the O.E. element *wiella* is usually *welle*,

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but occasionally *wulle*, &c. in Herts.—*Eswull*, 1200 C. R. Rlls. i; *Haliwull*, 1200 ib. i; *Supewlla*, 1160 Cat. Ant. Dds. iii.

§ **353.** In the Pl.-Ns. of Suffolk the spelling *walle* sometimes occurs. This is quite an exceptional form in the east, but it is an interesting fact that all the examples of *walle* in Pl.-N. forms occur within a very small area:—*Brightwall*, 1316 F. A. v; *Caldewalle* (Hintlesham), 1226 Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; 1296 ib. i; 1310 ib. iii; *Kentwalle* (Melford), no date, ib. ii; *Redwalle* (Ipswich), 1387 ib. iii.

10. O.E. *ĕo*

§ **354.** O.E. *ĕo* was early monophthongized and appears regularly as *ĕ* throughout the M.E. period in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hunts., Northants., Cambs., and in the City. It is true that in the Pl.-Ns. of some of these areas there occur occasional spellings which point to a rounded vowel, e. g. in Norfolk *Durh'*, 1229 Cl. Rlls. i; in Cambs. *Hortherst*, Rotl. Hund.; in Suffolk *Hurtes manor*, 1384 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i, *Nuthere-*, 1325 Cat. Ant. Dds. i; in Essex *Dupeden*, 13th. c. St. Barthol. Recs.; and even in Kent *Hurtligh* occurs in the Rotl. Hund. These *u-*, *o*-forms, however, are so rare, and often so late, that they cannot be regarded as typical of the dialects of these easterly areas.

§ **355.** To the west of this area—in the Central Midl.—Pl.-N. forms with spellings indicating a rounded vowel are fairly common. These occur not only in Middlex. (§ 172) but in the adjacent counties of Surrey, Bucks., Herts., and Beds. These forms are not infrequent in the 12th, 13th, and early 14th c., but seem to disappear after the middle of the 14th c.

§ **356.** In Beds. I have noted the forms *Dupedel*, 12th c. Colch. Ch.; *Dupedale*, 1226 F. F.; *Buston*, 1245, &c., ib.; *Flute*, 1291 Tax. Eccles.; *Grutteford*, 1313 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i.

§ **357.** Among Herts. Pl.-N. forms are *Borchampsteda*, 1178 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; *Hurtfortsch'*, 1158–98 Pipe Rlls.;

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Musecroft, late 12th c. B.M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; *Muselowebrache*, 13th c. Cl. Rlls. iii; *Mossewell*, 1231 ib. i; *Pusepyhtel*, 1274 Cat. Ant. Dds. iii.

§ **358.** Surrey has *Hurtmere*, 1278 Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; *Hortespole*, 1278 ib. iii; *Hurteswode*, 1322 Cal. Inq. P. M. ii; *Sudewurch*, 1162 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. ii, &c.

Spellings indicating a rounded vowel occur regularly in the Surrey texts. The Chertsey Ch. has *nuðer*, *frondlice*, &c., and the O. & N. has *fur*, *orðliche*, *horte*, *hovene*, *dor*, *prost*, &c.

§ **359.** Similar forms occur in the probable Middlex. text Herb. Apul. (*hortes*, *brosta*, *ȝeþode*, &c. Berberich, pp. 23, 24).

§ **360.** Bucks., according to Mawer (*Place-Names*), has occasional *u*-forms—*Musewelle*, 1246; *Flutmedebrok*, 1260; *Nuþerend*, 1250; *Mildensturte*, 1250. Dr. Serjeantson has noted *Hurtwell* in the 13th and 14th c. (*Dialect Characters*, § 111).

§ **361.** To sum up the evidence, it appears that, while in the extreme east (Norfolk, Suffolk, &c.) O.E. *ĕo* never underwent rounding, but was monophthongized direct to *ĕ*, in the Central Midlands O.E. *ĕo* became rounded to [*ŏ*], and that the rounded vowel was preserved in the early M.E. period, but subsequently (about the end of the 13th c.) underwent unrounding to *ĕ*.

§ **362.** Mention might perhaps be made of the following *i*-forms in Pl.-Ns. with O.E. *ēo*. These all occur within the area that preserves rounding in the E.M.E. period (cf. §§ 174–5):

Cambs.: *Gritton*, 1294, 1353, 1355, 1390 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. ii.

Beds.: *Biston*, 1202 F. F., &c.; *Flitte*, 13th c. Quo Warr.; 1260, 1262 F. F. &c.; *Flittescourt*, 1316 F. A.; *Flittewike*, 1286 ib., &c.; *Gritteford*, 1356, 1406 Cat. Ant. Dds. vi.

Herts.: *Misedon*, 1252 Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; *Missewella*, 1180 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i.

Surrey: The Chertsey Ch. has *triuue*, 987 (2); *triwe*, 987 (2); *triuuen*, 987; *triwen*, 987.

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11. O.E. *ēag, ēah*

§ **363.** As a rule, O.E. *ēag, ēah* appear as *-ey, -egh*, &c., in the Central and S.E. Midland areas, and in the South-East. Yet from the 13th c. (rarely before) a certain number of scattered *i*-spellings occur in these areas. These are nowhere very plentiful, but the majority appear in Pl.-N. forms of Beds., Herts., Essex, and Surrey.

§ **364.** Spellings with *i* are specially rare in the north-eastern part of the area under consideration. In Norfolk (155 *-ey*) only one such form has been noted (*Foxlye*, 1270 Cat. Ant. Dds. ii), in Cambs. (120 *-ey*) again one (*Sylverly*, 1335 F. F.), in Suffolk (140 *-ey*) three (*Bradelye*, Rotl. Hund.; *Ottelye*, 1354 Cal. Inq. P. M. x; *Tremlye*, 1314 ib. v), and in Hunts. (112 *-ey*) two (*Hyyegate*, Rotl. Hund.; *Cotwrthelye*, ib.).

§ **365.** In Beds. (150 *-ey*) the *i-, y*-spellings occur fairly early (*Aklye*, 1237 F. F.; *Aspelye*, 1239 ib.; *Crawelye*, 1239 ib.; *Rislye*, 1239 ib.; *Relye*, 1427 ib.; *Stradli*, 1086 D. B.; *Trayilly*, 1302 F. A.; *Wolselye*, 1415 Cat. Ant. Dds. vi; *Hygham*, 1428 F. A.).

§ **366.** In Essex (360 *-ey*) the *i*-spellings occur fairly early (§ 210): in the 13th c. I have noted 7, in the 14th c. 2, and in the 15th c. again 7.

§ **367.** In Herts., however (320 *-ey*), the *i*-spellings in my collection are much later; the earliest form I have noted is in a document dated 1327 (*Lylly*, 1428 F. A.; *Lyllywod*, 1438 Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; *Lynlye*, 1346 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. ii; *Offelie*, 1335 Cal. Inq. P. M. vii; *Thorly*, 1468 Inq. P. M.; *Wilmudely*, 1327 Cal. Inq. P. M. vi; *Wilmondlie*, 1420 Inq. P. M.). Dr. Serjeantson in her discussion on *ēag* (*Journal of Engl. and Germ. Phil.*) shows three *i*-forms in 13th c. Herts. Pl.-Ns. (p. 211).

§ **368.** South of the Thames, in Surrey (140 *-ey*), the *i*-forms are fairly common (*Blechynglie*, 1328 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Bletchinglighe*, 1357 ib. i.; *Blechynglye*, 1459 ib. ii; *Bradelyeghe*,

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temp. Hen. III Cat. Ant. Dds. iii; *Bromligh*, 1281 Rotl. Hund.; *Bromlygh*, 1311 Cal. Inq. P. M. v; *Bromligh*, 1327 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Bromliegh*, 1436 F. A. iii; *Cranlygh*, temp. Ed. I B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Goddelie*, 13th c. Kemble; *Horlye*, temp. Ed. I B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Netelyge*, 13th c. Kemble; *Ockely*, temp. Ed. II B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Varlye*, 1431 ib. i; *Wyppelygh*, 1327 ib. i; *Wytly*, &c., 1303–79 ib. ii; *Highegrof*, Cal. Inq. P. M. ix).

§ **369**. A certain number of *i*-spellings occur in the early Pl.-Ns. of Kent (100 *-ey*), but these are not altogether convincing, as almost all occur in the Rotl. Hund. (*Ferlygh*, Rotl. Hund.; *Hastyngly*, 1399 B.M. Ch. & Rlls. i; *Hertlye*, 13th c. Kemble; *Hurtligh*, *Hertligh*, Rotl. Hund.; *Redligh*, ib.; *Rihslie*, *Rihsshelie*, *Rokeslye*, ib.).

CONCLUSION: DIALECT COMPLEXES OF THE S.E. AND S.E. MIDLAND AREAS IN M.E.

§ **370**. From the preceding paragraphs it will be seen that, in the S.E. and S.E. Midl. area, there is a great diversity in the dialects. In fact, in almost every county the dialect complex in the M.E. period is strikingly different from that of the neighbouring counties. Only a few out of many possible dialect tests have been used, yet by studying even these few in combination, the localization of a text written in a dialect of this area could be determined with some exactness.

§ **371**. The main M.E. dialect features of Norfolk and Cambs. appear to be: *en* for the *i*-mutation of O.E. *a* + nasal, *a* for O.E. æ, absence of fracture of O.E. æ before *ld*, tense [ē] for O.E. $\bar{æ}^1$ and $\bar{æ}^2$, $\check{i}$, rarely $\check{e}$, for O.E. $\check{y}$, $\check{e}$ for the *i*-mutation of O.E. $\check{e}a$, $\check{e}$ for O.E. $\check{e}o$, and $\bar{e}y$, &c., for O.E. *ēag*, *ēah*.

§ **372**. The dialect of Suffolk closely resembles that of Norfolk and Cambs., except that O.E. $\check{y}$ generally appears as $\check{e}$, but $\check{i}$ is almost as common. Furthermore, it has been shown that O.E. *ēa* appears as tense [ē] in the Suffolk dialect during

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the M.E. period (*Englische Studien*, 61 (3), p. 386). There is no satisfactory evidence that O.E. *ēa* became anything but the usual [ɛ̄] in Norfolk.

§ **373.** From the evidence of Pl.-N. forms in Hunts. it appears that this dialect resembles that of Norfolk on most points, but is distinguished from it in showing original fracture of O.E. *æ* before *ld*, in having the retracted *ā*-type for O.E. $\bar{æ}^1$ and $\bar{æ}^2$, and in having occasional *u* as alternative to *i* for O.E. *y̆*.

§ **374.** The dialects of Herts. and Beds. appear to have a good deal in common, but are distinguished from the dialects already mentioned on a variety of points. Beds. and Herts. agree with Hunts. in having *a* for *æ*, fracture of *æ* before *ld*, and *ā* for O.E. $\bar{æ}^1$ and $\bar{æ}^2$. On the other hand, Beds. and Herts. show *an* for the *i*-mutation of O.E. *a* + nasal, *u* (occasionally *i* and *e*) for O.E. *y̆*, occasional *u*, in Herts. at least, besides more common *e* for O.E. *ea-i*, but *ē* for *ēa-i* always, traces of rounding in E.M.E. of the vowel from O.E. *e̊o*, and some *i*-spellings for O.E. *ēag*, *ēah*, in Beds. and Herts.

§ **375.** The characteristics of the Middlex. and of the City-Essex dialects have already been discussed in detail. The features of the Essex dialect closely resemble those of Herts., except that in Essex O.E. *y̆* is generally *e*, rarely *i* or *u*, O.E. *e̊a-i* is always *e̊*, and O.E. *e̊o* appears from the earliest times as *e̊*. Middlex., on the other hand, differs strikingly from Herts. in having *en* for O.E. *an-i*, *e* for *æ*, [ɛ̄] for $\bar{æ}^1$ and $\bar{æ}^2$, *i* with *u* (*e*) as alternatives for O.E. *y̆*, and *ey* always for O.E. *ēag*, *ēah*. Middlex. agrees with Herts. in having the fracture *eld*-type, *i̊* and *ů* besides *e̊* for O.E. *e̊a-i*, and a rounded vowel [ø̄] in E.M.E. for O.E. *e̊o*.

§ **376.** Surrey agrees with Middlex. in having *en* for O.E. *an-i*, *e* for O.E. *æ*, fracture of *æ* before *ld*, [ɛ̄] for $\bar{æ}^2$, and traces of a rounded vowel in E.M.E. for O.E. *e̊o*. This dialect differs in having tense [ɛ̄] for $\bar{æ}^1$ and *e̊* always for O.E. *e̊a-i*; it agrees

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with Herts. in having *u* (*i* and *e*) for O.E. *y̆*, and *i* beside *ey* for O.E. *ēag*, *ēah*.

§ **377**. The dialect of Kent is similar to that of Surrey. The main differences are that Kent has tense [ē] for *ǣ*[3], *e* for O.E. *y̆*, and (?) *jē* for O.E. *ēo*. Kent seems to have had *ey*, rather than *i* for O.E. *ēag*, *ēah*. The development of *ēo*, *ēa* in Kentish is peculiar to this area. It will be seen that Kent differs strikingly from Essex, the points of resemblance being confined to fracture of *æ* before *ld*, *e* for O.E. *y̆*, and *ĕ* for O.E. *ĕa-i*.

§ **378**. In the following Table (Table III) the main probable dialect features of the various counties are briefly compared and contrasted.

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TABLE III

Suggested Comparative Table of the Main Dialect Features of the Central and South-East Midlands and of the South-East in M.E.

O.E. Vowel	NORFOLK	CAMBS.	SUFFOLK	HUNTS.	BEDS.	HERTS.	MIDDLEX.	ESSEX	SURREY	KENT
1. *an-i* .	en	en	en	en	an	an	en	an	en	en
2. *æ* . .	a	a	a	a	a	a	e	a	e	e
3. *eald, ald*	old	old	old	eld	eld	eld	eld	eld	eld	eld
4. *ǣ*[1] . .	ē	ʔ ē	ē	ā	ā	ā	ē	ā	ē	ē
5. *ǣ*[2] . .	ē	ʔ ē	ē	ā	ā	ā	ē	ā	ē, ē̆	ē
6. *y̆* . .	ĭ (ĕ)	ĭ (ĕ)	ē̆ ĭ	ĭ (ŭ)	ŭ (ĭ, ĕ)	ŭ (ĭ, ĕ)	ĭ ŭ (ĕ)	ĕ (ĭ, ŭ)	ŭ (ĭ, ĕ)	ĕ
7. *ēa* . .	ē̆	ē̆	ē	ʔ ē	ʔ ē	ʔ ē	ē̆	ē	ē̆	ʔ jā
8. *ĕa-i* . .	ĕ	ĕ	ĕ (ʔ a)	ĕ	ĕ	ĕ (ʔ u)	ĕ, ĭ (ŭ)	ĕ	ĕ	ĕ
9. *ĕo* . .	ĕ	ĕ	ĕ	ē	ĕ, ŏ	ĕ, ŏ	ĕ, ŏ	ĕ	ĕ, ŏ	ʔ jē, e
10. *ēag, ēah*	ey	ey	ey	ey	ey, ī	ey, ī	ey	ey, ī	ey, ī	ey (ī)

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